

THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

MARITIME HISTORY & ARTS



VOLUME SIXTY, NUMBER ONE

NORTHEAST AUCTIONS

by

Ronald Bourgeault, New England's leading auctioneer of marine antiques

Important Auction — March 3-4th, 2001

The Armory at the Center of New Hampshire, Manchester

Featuring American and Continental Furniture, Paintings and Prints,
Folk Art, Oriental Rugs and Carpets, Marine and China Trade related items,
Silver and Jewelry, and other Decorative Accessories



U.S.S. SHIP CONSTITUTION BY NICHOLAS CAMMILLIERI (MALTESE, CIRCA 1780-1855)

Property from the Frank T. Howard Maritime Collection of Philadelphia.

Sold at Northeast Auctions Marine and China Trade Auction, August 19-20, 2000.

One of four paintings purchased at the auction by New England Maritime Museums.

Northeast Auctions is looking for quality consignments to include in our next Maritime Auction,

— August 18-19, 2001 —

Property relating to the 18th and 19th century New England shipping trade including Marine and China Trade paintings, miniatures, porcelain and silver made for the American market are of particular interest.

Inquiries are welcome.



NORTHEAST AUCTIONS

RONALD BOURGEAULT, Auctioneer

93 Pleasant Street, Portsmouth, NH 03801 Tel: 603-433-8400 Fax: 603-433-0415



V
1
A4

THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

A Quarterly Journal of Maritime History and Arts

≈ TABLE OF CONTENTS ≈

Editor in Chief's Note	5
Manuel Fernandes and his 1616 "Livro de Traças de Carpintaria"	
Carla Rahn Phillips	7
Lieutenant Andrew H. Foote and the African Slave Trade	
Spencer Tucker	31
The Right of Unrestricted Navigation on the Mississippi, 1812-1818	
Alfred Maass	49
First to Cross: The S.S. <i>Monumental City</i>	
Fred Hopkins	61

≈ DEPARTMENTS ≈

Museum Focus	
Maritime Maine's <i>Wyoming</i>	
J. S. Dean	75
Comprehensive Study of America's Maritime History Launched	76
C.S.S. <i>Alabama</i> Association	77
AUVs and Submarine Cable at Underwater Intervention Conference	78
John Lyman Book Awards	80
Letters	81
Statement of Ownership	105

≈ BOOK REVIEWS ≈

Calouste Gulbenkian, <i>A Arte Eo Mare [Art and the Sea]: Catalogue of the Temporary Exhibitions</i> <i>Gallery, 18 May to 30 August 1998</i>	
Harold D. Langley	83
Thomas H. B. Symons, <i>Meta Incognita: A Discourse of Discovery. Martin Frobisher's Arctic</i> <i>Expeditions: 1576-1578</i>	
Willem F. J. Morzer Bruyns	85

Richard Harding, <i>Seapower and Naval Warfare, 1650–1830</i>	
J. David Davies	85
James L. George, <i>History of Warships from Ancient Times to the Twentieth Century</i>	
S. W. Jackman	86
Donald A. Petrie, <i>The Prize Game. Lawful Looting on the High Seas in the Days of Fighting Sail</i>	
Timothy J. Runyan	87
Deryck Scarr, <i>Slaving and Slavery in the Indian Ocean</i>	
Robert B. Campbell	88
Keith McLaren, <i>Light on the Water: Early Photography of Coastal British Columbia</i>	
Robert Lloyd Webb	89
James Cable, <i>The Political Influence of Naval Force in History</i>	
Clark G. Reynolds	91
Jerry W. Jones, <i>U.S. Battleship Operations in World War I</i>	
John F. Votaw	92
Jane Samson, <i>Imperial Benevolence: Making British Authority in the Pacific Islands</i>	
David A. Robyak	94
Walter Staples, <i>The North Bay Narrative: One Hundred Years of a Newfoundland Outport Village</i>	
Olaf Uwe Janzen	95
William M. Leary, <i>Under Ice: Waldo Lyon and the Development of the Arctic Submarine</i>	
Ronald Rainger	97
John D. Alden, <i>Salvage Man: Edward Ellsberg and the U.S. Navy</i>	
William Galvani	98
Thomas Wildenberg, <i>Destined for Glory: Dive Bombing, Midway and the Evolution of Carrier Airpower</i>	
William T. Y'Blood	99
Adolph W. Newton, <i>Better Than Good: A Black Sailor's War, 1943–1948</i>	
Calvin Lane	100
Michael A. Simpson, ed., <i>The Cunningham Papers, Volume I: The Mediterranean Fleet 1939–1942</i>	
Eric C. Rust	101
Earl G. Shettleworth, Jr. and W. H. Bunting, <i>An Eye For the Coast: The Maritime and Monhegan Island Photographs of Eric Hudson</i>	103

SHORTER NOTICES

by Briton C. Busch

Jeremy Green, Myra Stanbury, Femme Gaastra, eds., <i>The ANCODS Colloquium: Papers Presented at the Australia-Netherlands Colloquium on Maritime Archaeology and Maritime History</i>	103
Lucy Kendall Herrick, <i>Voyage to California Written at Sea, 1852</i>	104
John F. Leavitt, <i>The Charles W. Morgan</i>	104
Jack Sweetman, ed., <i>Great American Naval Battles</i>	104

Director of Publications

William T. La Moy
Peabody Essex Museum

Editor in Chief

Barry M. Gough
Wilfrid Laurier University

Publisher (Retired)

Donald S. Marshall
Peabody Essex Museum

Subscription Services

Jack Bishop
Peabody Essex Museum

Copy and Proofreader

Merrily Glosband
Peabody Essex Museum

Fulfillment Activities

Donald A. Hunter
Peabody Essex Museum

Assistant Publisher

Dori Phillips
Peabody Essex Museum

Ship Modeling

Paul C. Dustin
Peabody Essex Museum

Internet Activity

Ray Hirschkop
Peabody Essex Museum

Advertising; Proofreader

Eva Ritter-Walker
Peabody Essex Museum

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

James C. Bradford

Texas A & M University

Robert M. Browning, Jr.

Dumfries, Virginia

Edward G. Brownlee

Mount Holly, New Jersey

William H. Bunting

Whitefield, Maine

J. Revell Carr

Mystic Seaport Museum

John S. Carter

Independence Seaport Museum

Lionel Casson

New York University

James Seay Dean

University of Wisconsin, Parkside

James P. Delgado

Vancouver Maritime Museum

William M. Fowler, Jr.

Massachusetts Historical Society

Stuart M. Frank

Kendall Whaling Museum

John Hattendorf

Naval War College

John R. Herbert

Spring Hill, Florida

Paul F. Johnston

Smithsonian Institution

Roger Knight

National Maritime Museum

Benjamin Labaree

Amesbury, Massachusetts

W. J. Lewis Parker

Captain USCG (Ret.)

Carla Rahn Phillips

University of Minnesota

Peter Rindlisbacher

Amherstburg, Ontario

Suzanne Stark

Boston, Massachusetts

William N. Still, Jr.

Kailua-Kona, Hawaii

THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE (ISSN: 0003-0155) is published quarterly by the Peabody Essex Museum, Incorporated, of Salem, Massachusetts, d/b/a Peabody Essex Museum. Officers of the corporation are: John O. Parker, President; Carter H. Harrison, Vice President; C. Richard Carlson, Treasurer; Lea B. Pendleton, Secretary; Richard Wheatland, II, Chairman of the Overseers.

Subscription rates are \$39 for U.S. individuals and \$45 for U.S. institutions. Non-U.S. subscription rates are \$42 for individuals and \$48 for institutions. Periodicals postage paid at Lawrence, KS. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *The American Neptune*, Peabody Essex Museum, East India Square, Salem, MA 01970. Telephone: 1-978-745-9500, ext. 3042. E-mail: Will_Lamoy@pem.org or Dorphil@aol.com. Information on the

American Neptune is available at our website and can be accessed at www.pem.org/neptune.

Support of the journal depends upon receipts from subscriptions; no payment is made for contributions or for editorial work. Subscriptions are accepted for a one-year period and begin with the issue published following receipt of the order. The editors of the *American Neptune* assume editorial responsibility, but they and the Peabody Essex Museum do not necessarily endorse the opinions expressed by authors and book reviewers. "Guidelines for Contributors" to the *American Neptune*, a style sheet for manuscript preparation, will be sent to prospective contributors upon request to the managing editor.

*So much of our history has taken place
upon the waters of the world . . .
and it comes to life in
SEA HISTORY!*

Share Our Adventures,

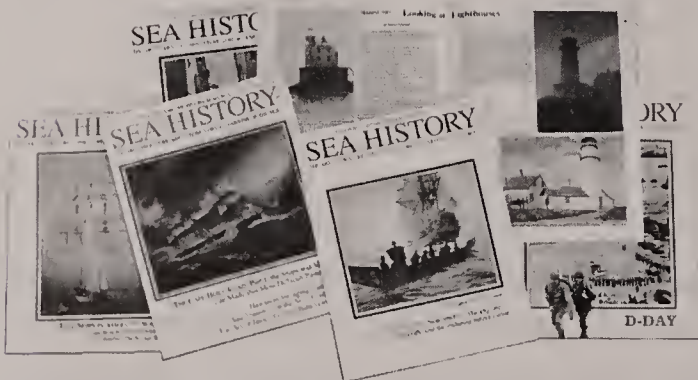
Sea History, our colorful quarterly magazine, presents the full sweep of history's affair with the sea. We also sponsor seminars and at least two educational cruises each year for members of the Society.

Save Our Heritage,

For over 30 years the National Maritime Historical Society has worked to save endangered historic ships, from the sailing ships *Wavertree* and *Elissa* to the steam tug *Mathilda* and the Liberty ship *John W. Brown*, shown at left.

Shape Our Future!

Our education program has been expanded to become the official education program of Operation Sail 2000. It will bring the public beyond the spectacle of tall ship visits into a fuller understanding of the history of seafaring.



Join Now and receive a special gift of 14 full-color Texaco Tall Ship prints by the renowned marine artist Jim Mitchell. You will receive *Sea History* for a year and your support will help the Society's work for our maritime heritage. Send \$35* to **NATIONAL MARITIME HISTORICAL SOCIETY**, PO Box 68, Peekskill NY 10566. Or call in your credit card order to **1-800-221-NMHS**.

*\$15 is for *Sea History* magazine and \$20 is a tax-deductible contribution.

EDITOR IN CHIEF'S NOTE

What is the agenda for maritime history for the new millennium? This a question explored from a variety of perspectives at the recent millennial marine conference at the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem. We, in fact, hope to see some of the papers delivered at this conference evolve into manuscripts for submission to the *Neptune* and have active discussion of these matters in our pages this year. We will have much to talk about, much to ponder.

With this issue, the *American Neptune* celebrates its sixtieth year of production. We have never missed one of our quarterly issues, since our first appearance in January 1941. This is an enviable record, and we wish to preserve and uphold it. Our journal continues to publish the very best of scholarly and learned material relating to seafaring and ships of all sorts, and so we must, of necessity, decline many articles and papers that are received for our consideration. When I look back on our 236 issues published to date, I have a swelling of pride, and when I consider our indexes, the most recent one (still available) surveying our issues back to the very first, I am reminded that I bear a great responsibility to see that original and informed material appears in our pages. At the same time that this is a task of unusual responsibility to our several professions, to our predecessor contributors, and to our current status as a preeminent journal, I must say that it is also one of great pleasure. Working with seasoned or neophyte authors has equal satisfaction to me, as I am sure it has been for other editors. Seeing the transformation from an unedited manuscript to

its final appearance in print, with everything set out according to high professional standards, is a particular delight. The strength of the *Neptune* will not flag, nor will any who hold this appointment allow it to do so. How delighted the *Neptune* staff would be if all our authors would subscribe and resubscribe to the *Neptune* so that they, as readers, would make sure that the journal in which they have invested so much time and talent will retain its strength.

As of late, we have published a number of articles on marine art and marine photography. We seek more of the same sort. We have also published a number of profiles on marine museums. In this issue, we feature one such, "Maritime Maine's *Wyoming*," by one of the members of our editorial advisory board, Prof. James S. Dean. This article sets a high standard for what might follow, and I challenge readers to energize themselves and to submit to us similar stories on their nearby museums, or places visited in the course of travels. I have one in preparation myself on Chatham Naval Museum in England. I encourage you to send in your contribution.

Our articles commence with a masterly study by the distinguished scholar Carla Rahn Phillips on Manuel Fernandes and his 1616 treatise on shipbuilding. This contribution offers many new insights into Portuguese and Iberian shipbuilding (and ideal ship proportions), and it is likely to become a classic. Very compelling is Spencer Tucker's article on the United States Navy's Andrew Foote, engaged in antislavery patrol duties on the west coast of Africa. The work was

hazardous and demanding, and Foote carried out his duties in exemplary fashion. Other main articles in this issue are Alfred Maass' article on unrestricted rights of navigation on the Mississippi River, a tortuous legal tangle successfully unraveled with the clarity we have come to expect from this fine scholar. Fred Hopkins' account of the first American steamship to cross the Pacific takes us back to that vital era of steam navigation, when

the world was turned upside down by steam.

We have our usual strong cluster of reviews and short notices. Remember, we do not aim to review every book, only the very best, and to do so in a comprehensive fashion.

We look for your continued support for this year and in the future.

BARRY GOUGH

≈ ON THE COVER ≈

Dix Cove, Gold Coast, West Africa

Unidentified artist, ca. 1840

Oil on canvas

Dix Cove was a British settlement on Africa's Gold Coast. The brig *Herald* of Salem appears entering the harbor to the right of the British fort. Built at Duxbury, Massachusetts, in 1832, *Herald* belonged to several Salem owners before being sold at Sacramento, California, in 1850.

Peabody Essex Museum Collections
Gift of Captain George E. Lord
M201

The Peabody Essex Museum gratefully acknowledges the contribution of a grant from Wilfrid Laurier University to assist the editor in chief in the management and production of this journal.

MANUEL FERNANDES AND HIS 1616 “LIVRO DE TRAÇAS DE CARPINTARIA”

by Carla Rahn Phillips

Scholars use a variety of sources to study the caravels, carracks, and the other vessels that enabled early modern Iberians to conduct trade and administer empires on a global scale. Pictorial evidence can provide useful information, even though paintings and woodcuts are rarely accurate in depicting detail or the relative scale between ships and human beings. Shipwrecks can yield an unparalleled level of precise detail, but the cost of finding and surveying them with modern archaeological techniques is stunningly high. Historians are more comfortable studying manuscripts and printed documents, a much more economical endeavor, but they are hard pressed to find many such documents before the sixteenth century.

Carla Rahn Phillips, Professor of History at the University of Minnesota, specializes in the economy and society of early modern Europe, most recently focusing on maritime history, exploration, and trade. Her publications include *Six Galleons for the King of Spain: Imperial Defense in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore, 1986); *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus* (Cambridge, 1992), co-authored with William D. Phillips, Jr.; *Spain's Golden Fleece: Wool Production and the Wool Trade from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore, 1997), co-authored with William D. Phillips, Jr.; and a translation titled

Voluminous records survive for Spain from the sixteenth century on, but few comparable documents survive for Portugal, in part because so much was destroyed in the devastating earthquake, flood, and fire that struck Lisbon in 1755. That scarcity of documentation makes the history of Portuguese shipping and ship design especially challenging.

Besides documents, historians also rely on discursive treatments of shipbuilding, including treatises about ideal ship measurements and proportions. One of the oldest European treatises on shipbuilding is the Portuguese manuscript “Livro da fabrica das naos,” by Fernando de Oliveira, dating from around 1580. Another late-sixteenth cen-

Spain's Men of the Sea: The Daily Life of Crews on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century, by Pablo E. Pérez-Mallaína (Baltimore, 1998).

A preliminary version of this paper was prepared for the Vasco da Gama Lectureship Series in the United States and was presented to both academic and general audiences during the spring of 1998. It was also presented, in greatly abbreviated form, at the “IX International Reunion for the History of Nautical Science and Hydrography,” Aveiro, Portugal, 15–19 September 1998. This revision owes much to the perceptive questions and comments of audiences in all those venues.

tury Portuguese manuscript is the anonymous “Livro náutico,” also known as “Meio pratico da construção de navios e galés antigas.”¹ Both treatises were edited and published in the late nineteenth century by Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, considered the founder of Portuguese naval archaeology and a renowned maritime historian.² Two Spanish treatises also date from the late sixteenth century: Juan Escalante de Mendoza’s “Itinerario de navegación,” written in 1575, and Diego García de Palacio’s *Instrucción náutica para navegar*, published in Mexico City in 1587.³ Scholars of Portuguese maritime history rarely mention the Spanish treatises, although comparisons might be very instructive, because Portugal and Spain were ruled by the same Habsburg kings from 1580 to 1640.

In the early seventeenth century two other classic Iberian treatises were written on shipbuilding and ideal ship proportions: Tomé Cano’s *Arte para fabricar y aparejar naos*, published in Seville in 1611, and Manuel Fernandes’s manuscript “Livro de traças de carpintaria,” dated 1616.⁴ Fernandes’s bound manuscript measures about 15 by 19 inches, and it is carefully penned and richly illustrated in color. In all, it contains 137 folios, with a detailed index at the end. The first sixty folios are text; the rest is illustrative material—more than two hundred fifty handsome watercolors of ship profiles, cross sections, structural diagrams, and equipment related to twenty-two types of ships. Most surprisingly, given its vintage, the manuscript is in nearly perfect condition. Discovered in the Ajuda Library in Lisbon in the 1880s, it was reportedly given its current leather binding in 1898. The “Livro de traças” is rightly considered one of the glories of Portuguese maritime history. Yet, despite the importance of the treatise, and by extension of Fernandes, we know virtually nothing about either the man or his manuscript.

The first element of the mystery is Manuel Fernandes himself, depicted on the first page of the manuscript. He appears as a dark-haired man,

presumably in his early thirties, looking straight at the viewer with a faint smile on his lips. Few ordinary mortals in the early seventeenth century had their portraits made, and we might assume that Fernandes was an important person, judging only from his garb, his pose, and the mere fact that the portrait exists. The caption identifies him as an “official of the same office [of ships’ carpentry],” an occupation of fairly low social status at the time, but he is dressed in the elegant and sober costume of a Portuguese gentleman: a black doublet fitted in the waist and quite full in the sleeves and skirt, with a large pleated ruff at the neck.



N a e r a d e 1 6 1 6 ∞

Frontispiece to Manuel Fernandes, “Livro de Traças de Carpintaria” (1616), pen and ink copy by Wayne M. Howell, drawn to the exact scale as the original.

Master ships' carpenters, like masters in many other crafts in the early seventeenth century, often wore formal garb on ceremonial occasions, as shown in Denis van Alsloot's paintings of public processions in Brussels in 1616. Fernandes's portrait is suggestive for another reason, however. He stands holding compass dividers in his right hand and a ruler of some sort in the other. The pose is strikingly similar to that of the Habsburg king Philip II of Spain, known as Philip I in Portugal, in the frontispiece to Bernardo de Vargas Machuca's *Milicia y descripción de las Indias* (Madrid, 1599). Is the similarity between the portraits inadvertent, or was the artist drawing a visual comparison between the global empire of Philip II and the contributions of maritime construction to that empire? Did ships' carpenters enjoy a higher status in Portugal than we generally assume, or, by his pose and garb, was Fernandes claiming higher status because of the undoubted utility of his craft? Might his treatise have been a conscious bid for employment or honors from some unnamed patron? At this point, we simply do not know the answers to these or a score of other questions about the author of the "Livro de traças."

Melba Ferreira da Costa, the former director of the Ajuda Library, mentioned the lack of information about Fernandes in a brief article announcing the 1989 publication of his manuscript in facsimile. In the article she alluded to research in various archives in search of Fernandes, and consultations with Portuguese archivists and historians, all of which had produced little more than frustration. Manuel Fernandes is a common name in Portugal, and the 1755 catastrophe destroyed the archives in the Casa da Índia e Mina, as well as the records for the port of Lisbon, the most likely sources of information about a man associated with the maritime world. Even more frustrating is Fernandes's absence from the *Biblioteca Lusitana* of Diogo Barbosa Machado (1741–1759), and the *Dicionário bibliográfico* of Inocêncio Francisco da Silva (1858–1914), both published in Lisbon.⁵



Frontispiece to Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, *Milicia y Descripción de las Indias* (Madrid, 1599).
Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

Given this bibliographical silence, historians are justified in assuming that Fernandes and his treatise languished in obscurity for centuries, unknown even in Portugal. It is fortunate for posterity that the manuscript was finally brought to light at the Ajuda Library by Francisco de Sousa Viterbo (1845–1910), one of the most distinguished Portuguese intellectuals of the late nineteenth century. Physician, archaeologist, historian, poet, and journalist, in early adulthood he served in the Portuguese navy as a physician and developed an enduring interest in the sea. Viterbo included Manuel Fernandes in his two-volume listing of Portuguese seafarers and shipbuilders of

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which contained about seven hundred pages on seafarers and nearly three hundred pages on shipbuilders. In all of that, however, there is only one small paragraph about Manuel Fernandes; the majority of it is devoted to a physical description of the treatise. About the man himself, Viterbo notes only that he was "Perhaps the most celebrated author of a treatise on naval construction, of whom we can be proud, [but] unhappily we find no official reference to him. His name would pass into the most complete obscurity were it not for the discovery of an important manuscript that exists in the Royal Library of Ajuda."⁶

Long after Viterbo's revelation, Fernandes and his treatise continued to be neglected in maritime studies. The next published reference seems to date from a 1933 book by Eugenio de Barros, which at last made Fernandes known to modern scholars. Barros not only analyzed Fernandes's work in detail, comparing and contrasting it with other early Portuguese nautical treatises, but he published the sixty folios of text in full. Subsequent scholars such as João da Gama Pimentel Barata relied heavily on Fernandes's treatise, which is now widely acknowledged as one of the outstanding Portuguese contributions to the history of European seafaring. A handsome facsimile edition appeared in 1989, and the original was featured in an exhibition at the New York Public Library in 1990 called "Portugal-Brazil: The Age of Atlantic Discoveries."⁷

Modern scholars have looked for traces of Manuel Fernandes in various archives in Portugal. One set of records contains the examinations of ships' masters and pilots on specific overseas routes; among them is the examination of a man named Manuel Fernandes, who qualified as a master and pilot for "the isles of Guinée" and Brazil in October of 1602. Identified as a resident of Lisbon, he lived in the district called the Alfama, a favorite haunt of seafarers. His examiners were

João Baptista Lavanha, the Chief Cosmographer of the king, and Salvador Luis and Domingos Barbosa, who were pilots certified for the routes to Guinée and Brazil. A similar record from 1611 notes that an Alfama resident named Manuel Fernandes served as an examiner of aspiring pilots on the routes of "the isles, Guinée and S. Tomé." A 1615 document from the municipal library in Vila do Conde in northern Portugal indicates that a son of Manuel Fernandes and Catarina Gonçalves contracted marriage with one of the wealthiest families in town.⁸ Although it is tempting simply to string these three references together as a plausible early history of the author of the "Livro de traças," there is not enough information to justify doing so. Even if he began his career as a pilot, few pilots would have been in a position to become ship designers; fewer still would have been likely to marry into a wealthy family in Vila do Conde, or anywhere else. In short, the three archival references may have no more in common with the author of the "Livro de traças" than the name Manuel Fernandes.

Another tantalizing possibility relates to official appointments in the maritime establishment. A royal warrant registered in Lisbon on March 30, 1621, named a certain Manuel/Manoel Fernandes to succeed Valentim Themudo as master carpenter of the shipyard in Goa (*mestre de carpintaria da Ribeira de Goa*), for a term of eight years. The appointment was literally a deathbed decision by King Philip III (Philip II of Portugal); he died in Madrid the day after the warrant was registered in Lisbon. Despite the appointment, Fernandes apparently never assumed the post because of a bureaucratic mixup. In 1648 a royal letter granted a man named Manuel/Manoel Fernandes an annual lifetime stipend of two *moios* (about 16.2 hectolitres) of wheat, for his services as an assistant master (*contra mestre*) of ships' carpentry and master of galleys. (At that date, the author of the "Livro de traças" would probably have been in his sixties.) The stipend was confirmed and transferred to Fernandes's wife in

1650, which suggests that he had died by then. Francisco de Sousa Viterbo published several documents related to these matters in his *Trabalhos náuticos* of 1890, in close proximity to his entry for the author of the “Livro de traças.” Nonetheless, although he raised the possibility that the two ships’ carpenters named Manuel Fernandes were one and the same, Viterbo pointedly listed the author of the “Livro de traças” separately. He does not tell us why.⁹

Discounting Viterbo’s reticence, Hernani Amaral Xavier recently argued that the author of the 1616 “Livro de traças” was in fact the same man subsequently appointed master carpenter in the Goan shipyard, and later given a royal annuity in wheat. Besides its plausibility, Xavier’s argument is appealing for another reason. Historians have found only one Portuguese shipbuilder who was ennobled through his craft in the early seventeenth century. That solitary individual was Valentim Themudo, knighted with the Portuguese military order of Santiago, presumably for his willingness to serve as master carpenter in the Goan shipyard.¹⁰ Did Manuel Fernandes, author of the “Livro de traças,” hope for social advancement by accepting the post in Goa that Themudo was vacating? In the absence of corroborating information, all that can be said for certain is that the extant documentation is suggestive but inconclusive.

If Manuel Fernandes the author remains a mystery, much the same can be said about his treatise. In writing about the facsimile edition of the “Livro de traças,” Melba Ferreira da Costa noted that no one knows how or when the manuscript arrived at the Ajuda Library. Early lists of the holdings in the royal library and the various collections that came to be part of the Ajuda Library make no mention of Fernandes’s treatise, although it is not unique in that regard: a number of codices at the Ajuda have an unknown origin.¹¹ The manuscript has survived in remarkably good condition, despite a few water stains. It was written on heavy paper in double-folio size, with a watermark

of a “pilgrim with a turned-down hat and a walking staff, topped by a calabash and two balls.”¹² The more than seventy folios of illustrations are handsomely drawn and colored, and the text is carefully lettered, which suggests that it is a fair copy of a previous draft, presumably crafted for presentation rather than for information alone.

The extant bound manuscript does not include a forward or any sort of introductory material such as a dedication. Instead, in Da Costa’s words, “the work begins immediately, at least in the state in which it has come down to us. Lamentably, the binders mutilated precious aspects [of the work] and it is possible that some folios were omitted when it was bound in 1898.” Despite the lack of preliminary material, Da Costa goes on to argue that:

One has to exclude the hypothesis that it was done under the patronage of some noble house to reside in a private library. We admit, above all, that we are dealing with a work done at the initiative of the author, produced with the resources at his disposal. Scarcely showing signs of wear, it does not seem to have been written for the use of local shipwrights [mestres da Ribeira]; above all, because of the way it is organized and the beauty with which it is written, it seems to have been designed and consecrated to the future, for use along with all the notable titles in the maritime history of Portugal.¹³

Several of these statements are highly speculative, given the absence of evidence. It would have been unusual for a work of such obvious beauty and seeming importance not to have been dedicated to a patron or potential patron, and Da Costa’s cryptic remark about the manuscript’s being mutilated and altered in the binding process suggests that introductory material may once have existed. If speculation and inference are the only tools available to understand Manuel Fernandes

and his treatise, I would argue that we should speculate and draw inferences from the full historical context of the early seventeenth century. I will deal with that context under three broad headings: the political situation; the maritime debates occurring at the time; and the identity of several important persons presumably involved in those debates.

Regarding the political context, Portugal was ruled by the Habsburg dynasty from 1580 to 1640. During what Portuguese historians still tend to call the “Spanish (or Babylonian) captivity” or the “Philippine domination,” Portugal and Spain were ruled by the same Habsburg kings: Philips II, III, and IV of Spain, known as Philips I, II, and III in Portugal. To avoid confusion, I will refer to

them by both numbers. In other words, in 1616 when Fernandes wrote his treatise, the king was Philip III/II, who reigned from 1598 to 1621. In 1640, under his successor Philip IV/III, the Duke of Braganza spearheaded a coup to free Portugal from Habsburg rule and claimed the throne for himself as João IV. The subsequent War of Independence (1640–1668) was hard fought. King Philip IV/III reacted with shock and outrage to this rebellion in the heart of his monarchy and maintained to his death an unshakable determination to recapture the Portuguese throne. His determination proved to be costly and futile in about equal measure. Spain was finally forced to recognize Portuguese independence in 1668, three years after the king’s death.



“The Debarcation of Philip III in Lisbon in 1619.” Engraving by Hans Schorkens, based on a design by Domingos Viera Serrao, in João Baptista Lavanha, *Viaje de la Catolica Real Magestad del rei d. Felipe III n. s. al Reino de Portugal i Relacion del Solene Recebimiento qu en el se le Hizo su Magestad* (Madrid, 1622). Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

During the War of Independence, Portugal defined its national identity in opposition and hostility to Spain. That hostility long outlived the revolutionary period and continued into the twentieth century, sometimes muted and other times openly voiced by the political classes. Like patriots everywhere, they sometimes found a nearby external enemy useful in building national unity. Some Portuguese historians simply omitted the Habsburg period from their analysis. Others tended to blame Habsburg rule for any and all difficulties that Portugal suffered in the period 1580–1640, including losses of commerce and colonies in Asia to Dutch interlopers. More recently, historians have acknowledged that the six decades of Habsburg rule in Portugal coincided with a period of economic distress, warfare, and social and intellectual upheaval that extended through much of Europe and spread to colonial empires around the globe. In other words, Portuguese difficulties in the early seventeenth century had broader causes than Habsburg rule.

Although many scholars have presented the 1640 rebellion as the culmination of a long-simmering resistance to foreign oppression, that, too, is a debatable proposition. For the limited purpose of my examination of Manuel Fernandes and his treatise, I would argue simply that the political situation in the early seventeenth century was quite complex and ambiguous.¹⁴ The Portuguese elite spent considerable time, money, and energy demonstrating their loyalty to the crown and claiming a more prominent place for themselves and their country in the Habsburg monarchy. Only when that bid failed, one could argue, did the political stance of the elite drift irreversibly against Habsburg rule.

The political climate of the early seventeenth century was on public display during the visit of Philip III/II to Portugal in 1619. Although most of the royal government in Madrid voiced their objections to the journey, the king reportedly made his decision at the urging of his confessor and the Duke of Uceda. On April 22 an entourage

of more than five thousand persons left Madrid, beginning a stately progress toward the Portuguese border. Besides the king, the royal party included his daughter, Princess María, his son and heir Prince Philip, and his French daughter-in-law Isabel of Bourbon. The Duke of Uceda and his son rode in attendance, plus a horde of other titled Castilian nobles. Also traveling with the royal entourage were the king's trusted adviser Don Diego Brochero, a distinguished naval commander representing the Council of War, and various other members of the government.¹⁵ A day's journey out of Madrid, a richly adorned cavalcade of the Portuguese elite, some fifteen hundred persons in all, met up with the Castilian contingent.

Once on Portuguese soil, the royal cavalcade progressed through Elvas, Estremoz, and Évora, greeted by impressive welcoming ceremonies and enthusiastic crowds. Many of the staged royal entries, or *entradas*, were consciously modeled on the royal visit in 1581, when Portugal had welcomed Philip II/I as their first Habsburg king. Many courtiers who had participated in the 1581 journey were also on hand in 1619 to assure the continuity of the rituals involved. The royal party took more than a month to arrive within sight of Lisbon. They settled into the town of Almada on May 26, 1619, and remained there for another month, during which time a steady stream of Portuguese nobles came to pay homage to their king.¹⁶

Without doubt, the high point of the visit was the king's official entry into Lisbon on June 29, the anniversary of his father's arrival a generation before. The king and his immediate party boarded the royal galley at the monastery of Belem on the Tagus River. Escorted by twelve other galleys and reportedly a thousand sailing ships, they then proceeded up the Tagus to the riverside palace (Pazo da Ribeiro) in a several-hour voyage of welcome and homage.¹⁷ This stunning marine extravaganza was later depicted by Amaro do Vale

in a large painting commissioned by the French merchant community in Lisbon.¹⁸ An even more detailed rendering of the scene appeared in an engraving included in João Baptista Lavanha's book commemorating the royal visit.¹⁹ Artificial sea monsters, lavishly decorated ships, and rhetorical displays of affection and loyalty to the house of Habsburg marked the celebration in the Tagus, and that was only the beginning of what one Portuguese chronicler called "the greatest festivities that have ever been seen."²⁰

The rich symbolism of the king's carefully scripted arrival was designed to emphasize the glory of the king and of his Portuguese capital city, and to link the two inextricably together. One speech explicitly argued that Lisbon should be made the capital of the Habsburgs' Iberian monarchy, because it was the best place from which to govern the joined global empires of Spain and Portugal.²¹ It seems clear that the Portuguese political classes hoped to use the king's 1619 visit to bring him around to that same point of view.

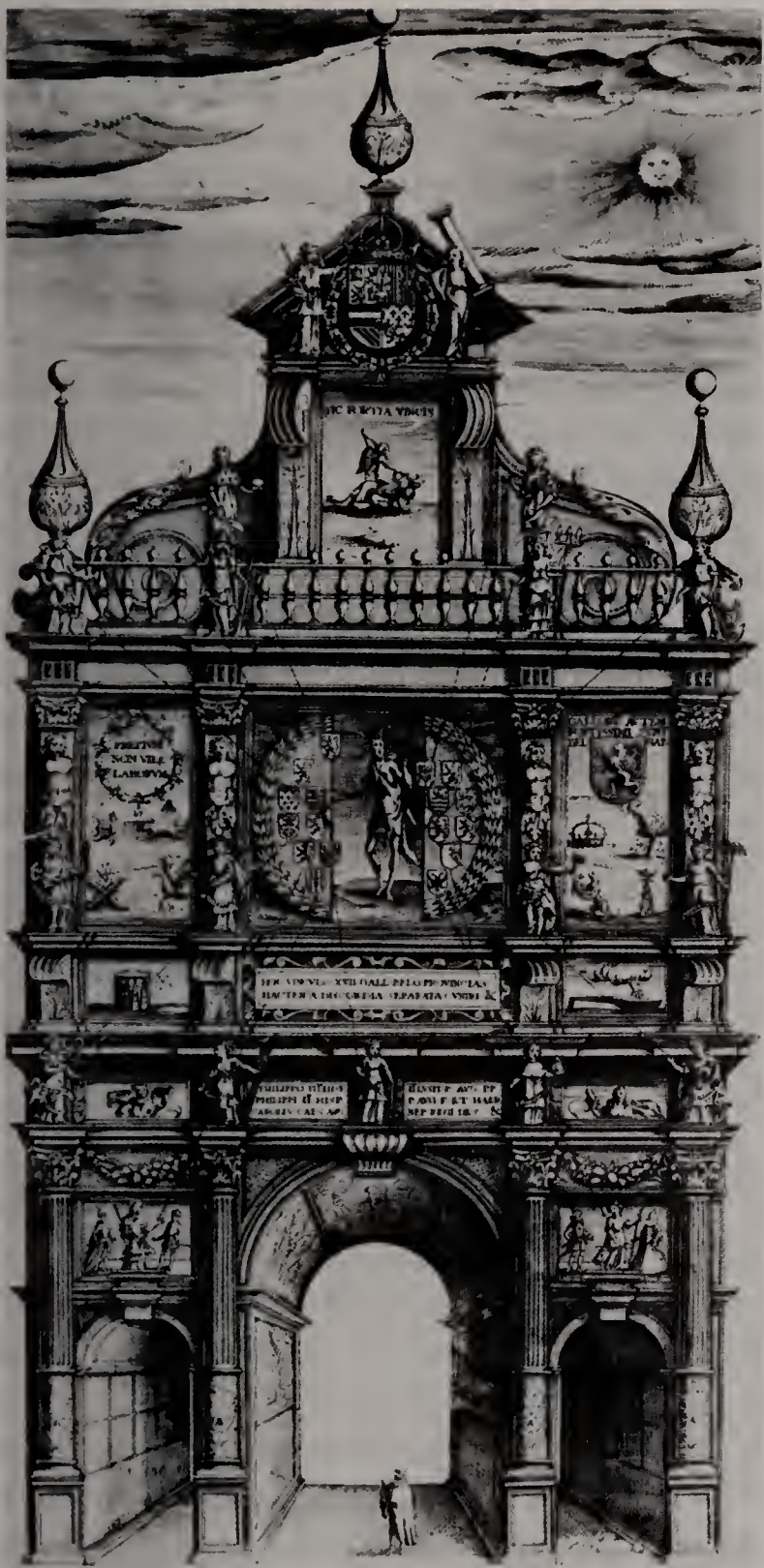
After the welcoming ceremonies at the harbor, the royal party proceeded to the center of the city through a carefully spaced series of twenty-six triumphal arches, specially built for the occasion. The foreign merchants resident in Lisbon, including the English, Flemish, German, and Italian communities, had all commissioned arches and tried to outdo one another with their sculptural and allegorical details. The major artisan guilds of Lisbon, including the guild of mariners, had also designed and built arches for the royal entry. In all, the triumphal royal progress through the city streets took another several hours. The king was so impressed and moved by the display that at nightfall he ordered the temporary arches to be left standing through the next day, so that the royal party could revisit them at leisure.²²

Once the huge royal entourage had settled into Lisbon and surrounding towns, the king con-

vened the Cortes of Portugal, composed of the three estates of clergy, nobility, and commoners, so that they could swear loyalty to him and his son and present proposals and petitions for royal attention. Thereafter, while the estates continued to meet, the king carried on business, held audiences, and visited various sites in and around Lisbon with the rest of the royal party. Everywhere there were great processions and solemn masses, attended by representatives from all levels of Portuguese society, including representatives of the Lisbon guilds. Among the items of business that particularly concerned the king were naval matters and imperial defense. He met with commanders of the Armada of the Ocean Sea, based in Lisbon, and dealt with issues ranging from piracy off Cape St. Vincent, to new discoveries in the south Atlantic, to the difficulties inherent in the Portuguese route to India.²³

In mid-September news arrived that electors in the Germanies had chosen as their new emperor Ferdinand of Styria, King of Bohemia and Hungary, who also happened to be King Philip's Habsburg cousin and brother-in-law. The rebellion that had broken out in 1618 under the leadership of Frederick, the Calvinist elector of the Palatinate, would gain strength with the election of Ferdinand, who was known to be an uncompromising Catholic. Although neither King Philip nor anyone else could know that the fighting would turn into the Thirty Years' War, the king was properly concerned by the German developments and quickly made plans to return to Madrid. He departed from Lisbon on September 29, leaving behind a nation that was deeply disappointed by the truncated visit but still loyal to the house of Habsburg. The king fell seriously ill before arriving back in Madrid, and although he recovered, his health deteriorated steadily thereafter until his death in 1621. Under his successor, Portugal would launch its War of Independence.

Although there is no proof that King Philip III/II was aware of Manuel Fernandes or his treatise during his visit to Lisbon, he clearly demon-



"The Arch of the Flemings," built for the royal visit of Philip III to Lisbon in 1619. Engraving by Hans Schorkens, based on a design by Domingos Viera Serrao, in João Baptista Lavanha, *Viaje de la Catolica Real Magestad del Rei d. Felipe III n. s. al Reino de Portugal i Relacion del Solene Recebimiento qu en el se le hizo su Magestad* (Madrid, 1622). Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

strated his interest in maritime affairs. Since early in the reign Philip III/II's government had sponsored a series of debates and negotiations about the ideal size and configurations for oceangoing vessels. Those debates formed the second part of the context in which Fernandes wrote his treatise and involved the maritime communities in both Spain and Portugal, including merchants, shipowners, shipbuilders, and the naval bureaucracy. Spanish merchants trading with the Americas generally preferred medium sized ships that could sail in and out of the shallow ports where they did business, albeit with sufficient cargo capacity to make a profit.²⁴

In Portugal merchants trading with India and points east tended to favor enormous four-decked carracks, usually called *naus*, that could carry substantial cargoes and defend themselves in hostile waters. As one contemporary described them ca. 1607, "There are six very large and powerful ships [based] in Lisbon, and when half of them are in Lisbon, the other half are in India; each one is as large as three ordinary ships."²⁵ The Portuguese maritime debate in the early seventeenth century centered around the relative merits of those large carracks, in comparison with smaller and sleeker galleons (usually with three decks), that could be used for both trade and warfare.²⁶

The crown based its naval strategy on embargoing and renting merchant vessels during wartime to supplement a small permanent navy. Because of that, the royal naval bureaucracy generally preferred ships that were larger than those favored by merchants to the Americas and smaller than those favored by merchants to Asia. In the early seventeenth century, the government of Philip III/II issued a series of ordinances specifying the ideal ship sizes and configurations for the American trade. Successive versions of the ordinances—in 1607, 1613, and 1618—were distilled from debates sponsored by the crown about the merits of various ship proportions. Respected experts on ships and shipbuilding were invited to comment on each successive version of the pro-

posed measures, and the final regulations aimed to reach a compromise among all the interested parties. The treatise by Tomé Cano (1611) was undoubtedly part of the ongoing debate in the Spanish context. It is arguable that Manuel Fernandes participated in the same debate in the Portuguese context and that he was asked to write his “Livro de traças” by the king, or by a representative of the king. Although the available documentation provides no proof for that argument, there is inferential support from information about several prominent individuals who were undeniably active in the maritime debates.

The most prominent was João Baptista Lavanha, born in Lisbon in about 1555 and expert in mathematics and other technical skills pertinent to maritime affairs. Philip II/I selected Lavanha to “read mathematics” in the Spanish court in 1582, recognizing the need for such expertise and the superior achievements of the Portuguese in that field. It was a mark of Lavanha’s prestige that in Madrid he was paid nearly twice the salary earned by the holders of university faculty chairs. As part of his responsibilities, Lavanha oversaw the translation of classical treatises on mathematics and cosmography into Castilian, so that they could be studied by the men who most needed them—pilots, cosmographers, and shipbuilders, few of whom knew classical languages. Named Engineer of the Realm of Portugal in 1586, Lavanha continued to be a trusted technical adviser to both Philip II/I and Philip III/II.²⁷ In 1602 he held the title of Chief Cosmographer of the King in Lisbon, where his duties included examining pilots for various maritime routes.

In the course of his long and distinguished career in royal service, Lavanha wrote several works on maritime matters, including a brief unfinished manuscript devoted to naval architecture, titled the “Livro primeiro de architectura naval,”²⁸ which includes measurements for Portuguese *naus da India*. Based on documents

bound with the “Livro primeiro,” Lavanha’s official duties seem to have included the evaluation of proposals for ship construction in Lisbon. In addition, as chief chronicler of the king, Lavanha wrote one of the most detailed descriptions of Philip III/II’s 1619 visit to Portugal. Thereafter, he followed the royal entourage back to Madrid, where he died in 1624. Lavanha’s prominence in court circles and his association with naval affairs make it likely that he was a major participant in the maritime debates of the early seventeenth century, well placed to bring the work of Portuguese experts in naval matters to the attention of the crown.

Another key figure in the nautical debates of the early seventeenth century was Don Diego Brochero de la Paz y Anaya. Born in the northern Castilian city of Salamanca, Brochero served the crown for fifty-seven years on land and sea. Like many of his contemporaries, he fought at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, but—in a rare deviation from their common experience—he fought on the Turkish side. As a war captive he was a galley slave for the Turkish admiral Ali Pasha, who was defeated and killed at Lepanto. Freed after the battle, Brochero continued his naval career and served all three Habsburg monarchs who ruled both Spain and Portugal. He was often based in Lisbon with the Armada of the Ocean Sea and presumably knew its naval establishment well. In later years Brochero served on the Council of War in Madrid and was arguably the driving force behind Spanish naval reform in the early seventeenth century.²⁹ Diego Brochero accompanied the royal party to Portugal in 1619 as one of the members of Philip III/II’s government assigned to oversee the logistics of the journey.³⁰ Even more than Lavanha, Brochero was explicitly identified with the maritime debates of the early seventeenth century, and because he was often stationed in Lisbon, he was presumably at home in both the Portuguese and Spanish maritime communities.

The Portuguese admiral João Pereira Corte-Real also contributed to the debates, and his expe-

rience suggests how Fernandes's treatise might have originated. Corte-Real was an experienced naval commander who made at least four voyages to India and back, returning from one of those voyages in October 1618. He was in Lisbon during the royal visit in 1619, during which "he presented to the King the first of his many proposals for regulating the Portuguese navigation and trade with India."³¹ The king had evidently asked Corte-Real to propose a scale of wages for crews in the *carreira da India*, and to devise a way to pay them without dipping directly into the royal coffers. In response, Corte-Real suggested establishing a royal monopoly on the import of cinnamon from Ceylon. He also commented on the ideal size and configurations for ships in Portugal's *carreira da India*. For that trajectory he observed "The ships ought to be of four decks and never three, because [the former] carry more people and haul more cargo and in warfare they lord it over the castles of other ships and are much more defensible."³² Given the prominence of Corte-Real and the timing of his memorandum, it is logical to assume that he played a role in discussions during the royal visit that touched "upon the very long and prolix navigation [to the Orient] and of the remedies for it," in the words of a contemporary chronicler.³³

By 1622 Corte-Real had changed his views dramatically about the ideal configurations for ships in the Portuguese *carreira da India*. In a lengthy discourse, written at the request of Diego Brochero and published in Madrid as *Discursos sobre la navegación de las naos de la India de Portugal*, Corte-Real repeated much of what he had already written in 1619. The crucial difference was that by 1622 he had become a confirmed champion of the three-decked galleon type of vessel, roundly condemning the four-decked *naus* as ungainly and dangerous. He announced at the outset of the *Discurso* that he hoped his work "could be a means by which Your Majesty will order a remedy for the many damages that have been caused in your royal service, to the state,

royal finance, and warfare by these errors, which all consist of two things: One, in the form of the *naus* and the immensity of their size. And the other, in the mode of loading them."³⁴ Corte-Real had presumably been persuaded by arguments that midsized ships were better overall choices for both trade and warfare, even on the route to India.

Such arguments lay behind the 1618 Spanish regulations for Atlantic shipping that had emerged from more than a decade of public and private debate regarding ship sizes and configurations. In 1622, perhaps related to Corte-Real's conversion, the crown applied similar standards to Portuguese shipping. A royal letter dated January 22, 1622, ordered that ships built for the *carreira da India* from then on were to have three decks rather than four, and another royal letter repeated the decree on May 18 of the following year.³⁵

The repetition of the decree offers a reminder that longstanding traditions rarely changed overnight, even with the force of law mandating the change. In fact, the maritime debate seems to have continued in Portugal, officially in a *Junta da fábricas* that met from 1621 to 1627, and no doubt informally as well. Gonçalo de Sousa, an officer in the king's Portuguese household and a knight commander in the prestigious Portuguese Order of Christ, gathered together a collection of documents on maritime matters that touched on the size and configurations of many types of ship. Usually dated circa 1626, the extant codex in reality contains documents dated from 1572 to 1632, including a lengthy description of a *nau da India* of the type traditionally favored by the Portuguese. Some of the phrasing in that description is very similar to passages in Fernandes's "Livro de traças," as several recent scholars have noted. Moreover, one table in Sousa's codex (fol. 22) is very similar, though not identical, to a table in Fernandes's "Livre de traças" (fol. 24). This suggests that the

author of the document in Sousa's collection borrowed from Fernandes (or vice versa), or that both of them relied on the same or very similar sources. Large carracks or *naus* had fallen out of official favor by the early 1620s, as witnessed by the royal regulations, but they evidently continued to be built and used for Portuguese voyages to India into the 1630s.³⁶

The evidence presented here, and especially the discussions of João Baptista Lavanha, Diego Brochero, João Pereira Corte-Real, and Gonçalo de Sousa, suggest several hypotheses regarding Manuel Fernandes and his treatise, although they are based on circumstance and inference rather than on firm evidence:

1. Manuel Fernandes belonged to the maritime community in Portugal in the early seventeenth century, a community whose prominent members included Lavanha, Brochero, Corte-Real, and Sousa. They were all presumably aware of one another's ideas about ship design.
2. In the political and intellectual atmosphere at the time, it was perfectly natural for Portuguese naval experts to participate in the ongoing debate about ideal ship sizes and configurations, sponsored by the Habsburg monarchy that governed both Portugal and Spain.
3. Given those circumstances, it is likely that Manuel Fernandes's treatise was written in response to a request that came directly or indirectly from the crown. I suspect that Diego Brochero asked Fernandes to write it, just as he asked Corte-Real to write the *Discursos*, but the request could just as well have come from another official source.

A further speculative point emerges from the fact

that shipwrights of every nation had their own traditions of designing, calculating, measuring, and building ships, even when the final products looked very similar. For the joint monarchy of Iberia, in which the ships of both nations were often selected for the same fleets, such differences could create misunderstandings and problems for government officials. Fernandes may have been asked, among other things, to explain Portuguese ship measurements and methods of construction so that Spanish naval bureaucrats could understand them.

Although nothing in the existing text of the "Livro de traças" says this explicitly, there are a few small details that suggest as much. Modern scholars from Barros onward have found Fernandes's text puzzling at best and even "at times almost incomprehensible."³⁷ One example of the confusion is a table on fol. 24, in which Fernandes lists the principal dimensions for ships ranging from twelve hundred to one hundred presumed *toneladas* (Table 1.) The numbers listed, however, do not correspond to dimensions for ships of similar tonnages described elsewhere in the text. Portuguese shipwrights used a variety of units of measure, but the most common were the *rumo* of about 1.5 meters (58.5 inches), and the *palmo de goa* of about 26 centimeters (9.8 inches). Those two units of measure appear throughout the text of the "Livro de traças," but they make no sense when attached to the numbers in the table on fol. 24. Moreover, the column in that table for the maximum breadth or beam of the vessels is labeled *manga*, the standard Spanish word for beam, rather than *boca*, the word commonly used in Portuguese treatises; and the column for the length of the vessels is labeled *esloria*, the standard Spanish word for length, rather than *comprimento*, the word commonly used in Portuguese treatises. The explanation for these inconsistencies seems obvious: the implicit unit of measure in the table on fol. 24 of Fernandes's treatise is the Spanish *codo real* of about 56 centimeters (22 inches), rather than the Portuguese *rumo* or *palmo de goa*.³⁸

To demonstrate this, we have only to place Fernandes's figures in a Spanish context. Table 2 includes figures explicitly given in *codos reales* in official Spanish rules for shipbuilding; unaltered figures from Fernandes's fol. 24 table; and additional figures from the text of the "Livro de traças," transformed from Portuguese *rumos* and *palmos de goa* into their equivalents in Spanish *codos reales*. All three sets of figures fit together perfectly. Moreover, tonnages calculated from the figures according to standard Spanish formulas are consistent with the tonnages given in the table on fol. 24 of Fernandes's "Livro de traças."

Gonçalo de Sousa's collection of documents provides additional evidence on the same point. Sousa's document also uses the word *manga* to head the column for beam measurements, and *eslera* (arguably the same as *esloria/eslora*) to refer to length. Likewise, the figures in his table make sense only if they refer to Spanish *codos reales*. This adds support to the notion that Sousa's document and Fernandes's "Livro de traças" are somehow related. Although the figures in Sousa's collection differ slightly from those in Fernandes's table on fol. 24, their author seems to have been equally familiar with configurations based on the Spanish *codo real*.

Another suggestive bit of evidence about Fernandes's "Livro de traças" comes from the portrait on the title page. Fernandes holds a pair of compass dividers in his right hand and something that looks like a ruler in his left. Estimating visually, he could not be holding either a *rumo* (58.5 inches) or a *palmo de goa* (9.8 inches). He might, however, be holding a *codo real* (22 inches). Is the portrait itself telling us what the extant text of the manuscript does not: that Fernandes wrote a kind of "Rosetta stone" or translation guide for Iberian shipbuilding? Because there is no introductory material to the "Livro de traças," we may never know for sure, but the prospect seems likely, given the circumstantial evidence.

The reason why no one (to my knowledge) has considered the possibility that Fernandes

wrote his treatise for the Habsburg monarchy, and referred to both Portuguese and Spanish shipbuilding traditions, may have something to do with scholarly politics. Until very recently, maritime history has often been defined by nationalistic agendas, and that has been as true in Portugal as elsewhere. Portuguese scholars may have been reluctant to attribute one of their national maritime treasures to Habsburg initiative, because the Habsburg period has often been viewed as foreign domination, rather than an authentic part of Portuguese history.

Antipathy toward the Habsburg period might also explain some of the mystery surrounding the "Livro de traças." If Fernandes wrote his treatise to attract royal favor, he would likely have included a fulsome dedication to the king or a highly placed member of his government. Portuguese patriots in the late nineteenth century might have found such a dedication sufficiently offensive to justify "mutilating" the manuscript before or during its binding. That would explain why the extant work begins so abruptly, without any introduction that would explain its context or contents. Political considerations might also explain why Fernandes and his treatise fell into obscurity. If he was the same man who received a royal appointment in 1621, and if he was still alive at the time of the 1640 rebellion, Fernandes might have been so closely identified with the Habsburgs that he had no hope of favor from the Braganzas. Nonetheless, if the author of the "Livro de traças" was the same man granted an annuity of grain in 1648, he must have found favor with the new dynasty by then.

Taking an altogether different tack, Fernandes and his "Livro de traças" might have fallen into obscurity for reasons directly related to the treatise itself. The maritime debates of the early seventeenth century clearly favored a narrowing of the hull, a trend that would continue to characterize European shipbuilding as the seven-

teenth century progressed. Judging from Tables 2 and 3, Fernandes was clearly not a part of the new trend. His “Livro de traças” still featured the enormous four-decked *naus da India* that were quite broad for their length. These were the ships that João Pereira Corte-Real renounced in his 1622 *Discursos*. Even more telling, Fernandes’s ships are broader than virtually all of the others listed in Tables 2 and 3, regardless of their tonnage; his ratios of keel to beam anchor the lowest end of the range. The only exceptions are his measurements for ships of one hundred to three hundred tons, and their ratios of keel to beam are comparable only to ships several times that size proposed by other designers. Fernandes was not alone in his preferences, as we have seen. The manuscripts associated with Lavanha and Sousa include vessels with similar dimensions, but both men were near the end of their careers by 1616, when Fernandes wrote his “Livro de traças.” By adhering to a traditional set of configurations, Fernandes may have identified himself too exclusively with the old

guard to be taken seriously as a ship designer in the 1620s. That alone could explain why he and his treatise were soon forgotten.

Whether or not any of this speculation is correct, it makes sense to study Manuel Fernandes and his treatise in the broadest possible context, and to look for documentary evidence about him in the full assortment of records left by the Habsburg monarchy shared by Spain and Portugal. Despite the 1755 catastrophe, it is likely that archives in Lisbon still have secrets to reveal about the early modern period. Moreover, records about Portugal exist in considerable quantity elsewhere, especially in Spain. To cite just one example, Lavanha’s “Livro primeiro da architectura naval” resides in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. If we can abandon self-limiting approaches to the past and seek out records wherever they may exist, the maritime history of Portugal, and of Europe as a whole, will be greatly enriched.³⁹

≈ APPENDICES ≈

Table 1: “Livro de traças,” fol. 24

Tonnage (<i>Navios</i>) (lit. Ships)	Keel (<i>Quilhas</i>) (lit. keels)	Length (<i>Esloria</i>)	Beam (<i>Manga</i>)	Depth (<i>Pontal</i>)
1200	43	61	22	14
1100	42½	60	21	13½
1000	41	59	20	13
0900	40	58	19	12½
0800	39½	57	18½	11½
0700		56	17	11
0600	38	55	16½	10½
0500	37	54	16	10
0400	36	53	15½	09½

Table 1: "Livro de traças," fol. 24 (continued)

Tonnage (<i>Navios</i>) (lit. Ships)	Keel (<i>Quilhas</i>) (lit. keels)	Length (<i>Esloria</i>)	Beam (<i>Manga</i>)	Depth (<i>Pontal</i>)
0300	35	52	14	09
0200	34	51	13	07
0100	33	50	12	
	32			

Table 2:
Proposed Measurements, Arranged by Beam

Source	Type	Year	Beam	Keel	Length	Depth	Tons	(a)	(b)
(Measurements in Spanish codos of 56 cm/22 in.)									
Manuel Fernandes*	nau	1616	25.1	47.0	69.4	15.7	1700	1701.0	1939.1
SPANISH RULES	galeón	1613	22.0	54.0	70.5	11.0	1073	1066.3	1215.6
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	22.0	53.0	68.0	11.0	1075	1028.5	1172.5
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	22.0	43.0	61.0	14.0	1200	1174.3	1338.6
SPANISH RULES	galeón	1613	21.0	53.0	68.8	10.5	956	947.5	1080.1
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	21.0	51.0	66.0	10.5	947	909.6	1036.9
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	21.0	42.5	60.0	13.5	1100	1063.1	1212.0
Manuel Fernandes*	galeón	1616	20.1	43.0	62.6	6.3	500	493.3	562.4
SPANISH RULES	galeón	1613	20.0	51.0	66.0	10.0	834	825.0	940.5
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	20.0	49.0	63.0	9.5	822	748.1	852.9
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	20.0	41.0	59.0	13.0	1000	958.8	1093.0
SPANISH RULES		1607	19.0	47.0	65.0	10.0	897	771.9	879.9
SPANISH RULES	galeón	1613	19.0	49.0	63.3	9.5	722	713.5	813.4
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	19.0	48.0	61.5	9.0	722	657.3	749.3
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	19.0	40.0	58.0	12.5	900	860.9	981.5
Manuel Fernandes*	galeón	1616	18.8	38.9	59.2	6.0	350	420.0	478.8
Beltrán/Echevarri		1608	18.5	45.0	60.0	11.1		770.06	877.87
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	18.5	39.5	57.0	11.5	800	757.9	864.0
SPANISH RULES		1607	18.0	44.0	62.0	9.5	755	662.6	755.4
SPANISH RULES	galeón	1613	18.0	48.0	61.5	9.0	632	622.7	709.9
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	18.0	46.0	59.0	8.5	624	564.2	643.2
Tomé Cano		1611	18.0	48.0					
Manuel Fernandes*	galeón	1616	17.5	38.9	55.5	5.4	400	324.9	370.4
SPANISH RULES		1607	17.0	43.0	60.0	9.3	669	589.7	672.2
SPANISH RULES	galeón	1613	17.0	46.0	58.8	8.5	539	530.6	604.9
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	17.0	44.0	56.0	8.0	530	476.0	542.6

Table 2 (continued):
Proposed Measurements, Arranged by Beam

Source	Type	Year	Beam	Keel	Length	Depth	Tons	(a)	(b)
(Measurements in Spanish codos of 56 cm/22 in.)									
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	17.0		56.0	11.0	700	654.5	746.1
Tomé Cano		1611	17.0	46.0					
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	16.5	38.0	55.0	10.5	600	595.5	678.9
Manuel Fernandes*	galeón	1616	16.1	34.9	52.9	5.6	300	298.0	339.7
SPANISH RULES		1607	16.0	42.0	57.0	8.8	568	498.8	568.6
SPANISH RULES	galeón	1613	16.0	44.0	56.0	8.0	456	448.0	510.7
Juan de Veas		1608	16.0	44.0	56.0	9.0		504.0	574.56
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	16.0	37.0	54.0	10.0	500	540.0	615.6
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	16.0	42.0	53.0	8.0	445	424.0	483.4
Tomé Cano		1611	16.0	44.0					
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	15.5	36.0	53.0	9.5	400	487.8	556.1
SPANISH RULES	galeón	1613	15.0	42.0	53.3	7.5	382	374.4	426.8
SPANISH RULES		1607	15.0	40.0	52.0	8.0	487	390.0	444.6
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	15.0	40.0	50.5	7.5	372	355.1	404.8
Tomé Cano		1611	15.0	42.0					
Juan de Veas		1608	15.0	42.0					
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	14.0	35.0	52.0	9.0	300	409.5	466.8
SPANISH RULES	galeoncete	1613	14.0	40.0	50.5	7.0	316	309.3	352.6
SPANISH RULES		1607	14.0	39.0	50.0	7.5	373	328.1	374.1
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	14.0	38.0	48.0	7.0	309	294.0	335.2
Tomé Cano		1611	14.0	40.0					
Juan de Veas		1608	14.0	40.0					
Manuel Fernandes*	galeón	1616	13.6	32.2	47.0	5.8	200	231.7	264.2
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	13.0	34.0	51.0	7.0	200	290.1	330.7
SPANISH RULES	navío	1613	13.0	38.0	47.8	6.5	258	252.2	287.5
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	13.0	36.0	45.0	6.5	251	237.7	270.9
Tomé Cano		1611	13.0	38.0					
Juan de Veas		1608	13.0	38.0					
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	12.0	33.0	50.0		100		
Tomé Cano		1611	12.0	36.0	46.5	7.0	232	244.1	278.3
SPANISH RULES	navío	1613	12.0	36.0	45.0	6.0	208	202.5	230.9
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	12.0	34.0	41.5	6.0	198	186.8	212.9
Juan de Veas		1608	12.0	36.0		6.0			
SPANISH RULES	navío	1613	11.0	33.0	40.6	5.1	148	143.1	163.2
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	11.0	32.0	39.0	5.5	157	147.5	168.1
SPANISH RULES	patache	1613	10.0	30.0	37.0	4.8	95	109.8	125.2
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	10.0	30.0	36.0	5.0	106	112.5	128.3
SPANISH RULES	patache	1613	9.0	29.0	35.0	4.1	71	81.2	92.6

Table 2 (continued):
Proposed Measurements, Arranged by Beam

Source	Type	Year	Beam	Keel	Length	Depth	Tons	(a)	(b)
(Measurements in Spanish codos of 56 cm/22 in.)									
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	9.0	28.0	34.0	4.5	81	86.1	98.1
SPANISH RULES	patache	1613	8.0	28.0	33.8	3.8	56	63.3	72.1

* Original measurements were in Portuguese *rumos* and *palmas de goa*.

(a) Tonnage calculated with the Spanish formula for merchant ships, late sixteenth century.

(b) Tonnage calculated with the Spanish formula for military ships, late sixteenth century.

Table 3:
Ratios of Keel to Beam, Etc.

Source	Type	Year	K/B	L/B	D/B	Tons	(a)	(b)
(Keel to Beam, etc.)								
SPANISH RULES	patache	1613	3.50	4.22	0.47	56	63.3	72.1
SPANISH RULES	patache	1613	3.22	3.89	0.46	71	81.2	92.6
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	3.11	3.78	0.50	81	86.1	98.1
Tomé Cano		1611	3.00	3.88	0.58	232	244.1	278.3
SPANISH RULES	navío	1613	3.00	3.75	0.50	208	202.5	230.9
SPANISH RULES	navío	1613	3.00	3.69	0.47	148	143.1	163.2
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	3.00	3.60	0.50	106	112.5	128.3
SPANISH RULES	patache	1613	3.00	3.70	0.48	95	109.8	125.2
Juan de Veas		1608	3.00		0.50			
Tomé Cano		1611	2.92					
SPANISH RULES	navío	1613	2.92	3.67	0.50	258	252.2	287.5
Juan de Veas		1608	2.92					
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	2.91	3.55	0.50	157	147.5	168.1
Tomé Cano		1611	2.86					
SPANISH RULES	galeoncete	1613	2.86	3.61	0.50	316	309.3	352.6
Juan de Veas		1608	2.86					
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	2.83	3.46	0.50	198	186.8	212.9
Tomé Cano		1611	2.80					
SPANISH RULES	galeón	1613	2.80	3.55	0.50	382	374.4	426.8
Juan de Veas		1608	2.80					
SPANISH RULES		1607	2.79	3.57	0.54	373	328.1	374.1
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	2.77	3.46	0.50	251	237.7	270.9
Tomé Cano		1611	2.75					
SPANISH RULES	galeón	1613	2.75	3.50	0.50	456	448.0	510.7

Table 3 (continued):
Ratios of Keel to Beam, Etc.

Source	Type	Year	K/B (Keel to Beam, etc.)	L/B	D/B	Tons	(a)	(b)
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	2.75	4.17		100		
Juan de Veas		1608	2.75	3.50	0.56			
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	2.71	3.43	0.50	309	294.0	335.2
Tomé Cano		1611	2.71					
SPANISH RULES	galeón	1613	2.71	3.46	0.50	539	530.6	604.9
Tomé Cano		1611	2.67					
SPANISH RULES	galeón	1613	2.67	3.42	0.50	632	622.7	709.9
SPANISH RULES		1607	2.67	3.47	0.53	487	390.0	444.6
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	2.67	3.37	0.50	372	355.1	404.8
SPANISH RULES		1607	2.63	3.56	0.55	568	498.8	568.6
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	2.63	3.31	0.50	445	424.0	483.4
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	2.62	3.92	0.54	200	290.1	330.7
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	2.59	3.29	0.47	530	476.0	542.6
SPANISH RULES	galeón	1613	2.58	3.33	0.50	722	657.3	749.3
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	2.56	3.28	0.47	624	564.2	643.2
SPANISH RULES	galeón	1613	2.55	3.30	0.50	834	825.0	940.5
SPANISH RULES		1607	2.53	3.53	0.54	669	589.7	672.2
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	2.53	3.24	0.47	722	713.5	813.4
SPANISH RULES	galeón	1613	2.52	3.27	0.50	956	947.5	1080.1
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	2.50	3.71	0.64	300	409.5	466.8
SPANISH RULES		1607	2.47	3.42	0.53	897	771.9	879.9
SPANISH RULES	galeón	1613	2.45	3.20	0.50	1073	1066.3	1215.6
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	2.45	3.15	0.48	822	748.1	852.9
SPANISH RULES		1607	2.44	3.44	0.53	755	662.6	755.4
Beltrán/Echevarri		1608	2.43	3.24	0.60		195.57	222.95
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	2.43	3.14	0.50	947	909.6	1036.9
SPANISH RULES	navío	1618	2.41	3.09	0.50	1075	1028.5	1172.5
Manuel Fernandes*	galeón	1616	2.38	3.46	0.43	200	231.7	264.2
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	2.32	3.42	0.61	400	487.8	556.1
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	2.31	3.38	0.63	500	540.0	615.6
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	2.30	3.33	0.64	600	595.5	678.9
Manuel Fernandes*	galeón	1616	2.23	3.18	0.31	400	324.9	370.4
Manuel Fernandes*	galeón	1616	2.17	3.29	0.35	300	298.0	339.7
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	2.14	3.08	0.62	800	757.9	864.0
Manuel Fernandes*	galeón	1616	2.13	3.11	0.31	500	493.3	562.4
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	2.11	3.05	0.66	900	860.9	981.5
Manuel Fernandes*	galeón	1616	2.07	3.15	0.32	350	420.0	478.8
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	2.05	2.95	0.65	1000	958.8	1093.0

Table 3 (continued):
Ratios of Keel to Beam, Etc.

Source	Type	Year	K/B (Keel to Beam, etc.)	L/B	D/B	Tons	(a)	(b)
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	2.02	2.86	0.64	1100	1063.1	1212.0
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616	1.95	2.77	0.64	1200	1174.3	1338.6
Manuel Fernandes*	nau	1616	1.87	2.77	0.62	1700	1701.0	1939.1
Manuel Fernandes	navío	1616		3.29	0.65	700	654.5	746.1

*Original measurements were in Portuguese *rumos* and *palmos de goa*.

(a) Tonnage calculated with the Spanish formula for merchant ships, late sixteenth century.

(b) Tonnage calculated with the Spanish formula for military ships, late sixteenth century.

SOURCES FOR TABLES 2 AND 3

Official Rules, 1607—Manuel Fernández Navarrete, comp. *Colección de documentos y manuscritos compilados*, ed. Julio Guillén Tato, 32 vols. (Nendeln, Lichtenstein: Kraus-Thompson Organization, 1971): 23 (1).

Tomé Cano, 1608—Tomé Cano, *Arte para fabricar y aparejar naos* (Seville, 1611); modern edition by Enrique Marco Dorta (La Laguna, Canary Islands: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1964).

Beltrán-Echevarri, 1608—Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *Disquisiciones náuticas*, 6 vols. (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1876–1881), vol. 5.

Juan de Veas, 1608—Archivo General de Marina (Madrid: Museo Naval), Marqués de la Victoria, Diccionario, Plate 5. Recently published in facsimile under the auspices of the

Museo Naval, Barcelona: Juan José Navarro, first Marqués de la Victoria, *Album del Marqués de la Victoria* (Barcelona: Lunwerk, 1995). Also mentioned in Cano, *Arte para fabricar y aparejar naos*.

Official Rules, 1613—José Luis Rubio Serrano, *Arquitectura de las naos y galeones de las flotas de Indias (1492–1690)*, 2 vols. (Málaga: Ediciones Seyer, 1991), 2:73–119, esp. 118–119.

Manuel Fernandes, 1616—Manuel Fernandes, *Livro de traças de carpintaria com todos os modelos e medidas pera se fazerem toda a navegação, assy d'alto bordo como de remo traçado por Manoel Fz [Fernandez] official do mesmo officio, na era de 1616* (Lisbon: Academia de Marinha, 1989).

Official Rules, 1618—Archivo General de Marina (Madrid: Museo Naval), Caja Fuerte 134.

NOTES

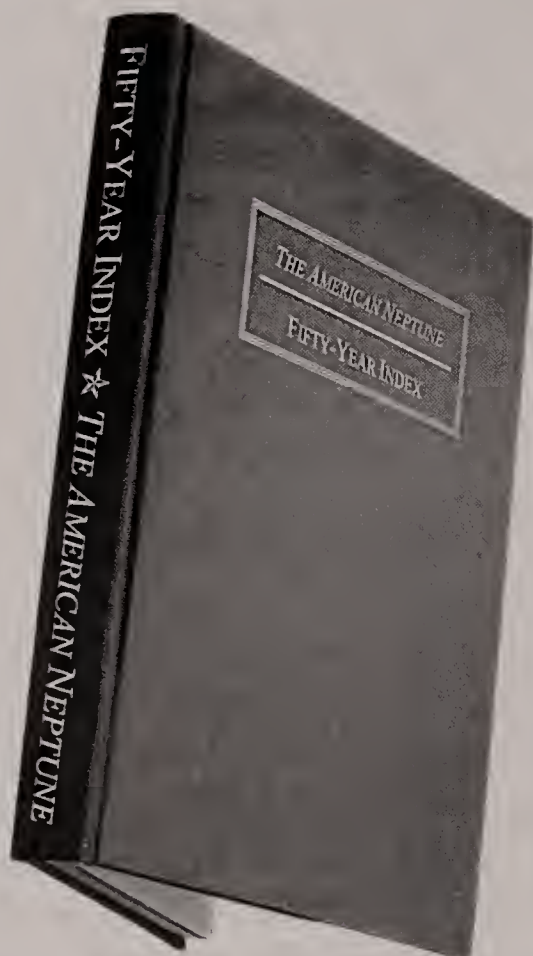
1. Both are manuscripts at the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon. Oliveira's work is thought to be a revision of the chapter on shipbuilding from his Latin treatise "Ars nautica," which dates from around 1570. Max Justo Guedes and Gerald Lombardi, eds., *Portugal-Brazil: The Age of Atlantic Discoveries* (Lisbon and New York: Brazilian Cultural Foundation, 1990), 62.
2. Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, *Estudos sobre navios portugueses nos séculos XV e XVI* (Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1892); and the same author's *O padre Fernando Oliveira e a sua obra nautica* (Lisbon, 1898). Mendonça dated both treatises earlier than scholars now think them to be.
3. Juan Escalante de Mendoza, "Itinerario de navegación de los mares y tierras occidentales," which was published in a handsome edition in 1985 by the Museo Naval in Madrid. Excerpts appeared in *Disquisiciones náuticas*, edited by Cesáreo Fernández Duro, 6 vols. (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1876–81), 5:413–515. Diego García de Palacio, *Instrucción náutica para navegar* (Mexico City, 1587; Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1944).
4. Tomé Cano, *Arte para fabricar y aparejar naos* (Seville, 1611), and a modern edition by Enrique Marco Dorta (La Laguna, Canary Islands: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1964). Manuel Fernandes, *Livro de traças de carpintaria com todos os modelos e medidas pera se fazerem toda a navegação, assy d'alto bordo como de remo traçado por Manoel Fz [Fernandez] official do mesmo officio, na era de 1616*, facsimile edition (Lisbon: Academia de Marinha, 1989). A companion volume with a full transcription of the manuscript, and an English translation by Manuel Leitão, appeared in 1995: *Livro de traças de carpintaria por Manoel Fernandez. Transcrição e tradução em Inglês* (Lisbon: Academia de Marinha, 1995). Portuguese scholars generally spell the author's name "Manuel Fernandes" and accept the notation 1616 at face value, although dates in Portuguese documents can sometimes vary from the Gregorian calendar.
5. "Acerca do 'Livro de Traças'," *Oceanos*, No. 2 (Oct. 1989): 122–28.
6. Francisco de Sousa Viterbo, *Trabalhos náuticos dos Portugueses nos séculos XVI e XVII*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1890; facsimile ed., Lisbon: Casa da Moeda, 1988), 2:55. Ramalho Ortigão, another prominent intellectual, was director of the Biblioteca da Ajuda when Viterbo made his discovery.
7. Eugénio Estanislau Barros, *Traçado e construção das naus portuguesas dos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Imprensa da Armada, 1933); Guedes and Lombardi, eds., *Portugal-Brazil: João da Gama Pimentel Barata, O traçado das naus e galeões portugueses de 1550–80 a 1640* (Coimbra: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1970). This and other pathbreaking studies by the late João da Gama Pimentel Barata were published as *Estudos de arqueologia naval*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 1989).
8. The documents are all mentioned in Da Costa, "Acerca do 'Livro de Traças,'" 122, unfortunately without precise citations.
9. Viterbo, *Trabalhos náuticos*, 2:53–57, 72–75. The king's final illness and death are described in C. Perez Bustamante, *Felipe III*.

Semblanza de un monarca y perfiles de una privanza (Madrid, 1950), III–12.

10. Hernani Amaral Xavier, "Novos elementos para o estudo da arquitectura naval portuguesa antiga," *Academia de Marinha* (1992), 9–17. My thanks to Richard A. Barker for providing me with a photocopy of this important article. Themudo's uniqueness was confirmed by Francis Dutra, Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara, an expert in the Portuguese military orders.
11. For a brief history of the Biblioteca da Ajuda, see A. da Silva Rego, "Introdução," *Biblioteca da Ajuda. Revista de Divulgação* 1 (May 1980): 5–39. The history is updated in a pamphlet by Francisco Cunha Leão, "A Biblioteca da Ajuda das origens à actualidade," *Cadernos* Band 1 (Lisbon, 1992): 193–99.
12. "[P]eregrino com bordão encimado por una cabaça e duas bolas, chapéu desabado," Da Costa, "Acerca do 'Livro de Traças,'" 123. The watermark would seem to depict the pilgrim St. James (Santiago) of Compostela, a figure with much resonance in Portugal and Spain.
13. Da Costa, "Acerca do 'Livro de traças,'" 122.
14. For an overview of the Habsburg period in Portugal, see J. H. Elliott, "The Spanish Monarchy and the Kingdom of Portugal, 1580–1640," in *Conquest and Coalescence: The Shaping of the State in Early Modern Europe*, Mark Greengrass, ed. (London: Edward Arnold, 1991): 48–67.
15. The fullest contemporary account of the visit is João Baptista Lavanha, *Viaje de la Catolica Real Magestad del Rei D. Filipe III N.S. al Reino de Portugal i relación del solene recebimiento que en el se le hizo Su Magestad* (Madrid, Thomas Iunti, 1622), fol. 1. Recent studies of the royal visit are George Kubler, "Archducal Flanders and the joyeuse entrée of Philip III at Lisbon in 1619," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten te Antwerpen* (Antwerp, 1970): 157–211; and Alicia Cámara Muñoz, "La fiesta de corte y el arte efímero de la monarquía entre Felipe II y Felipe III," in *Las sociedades ibéricas y el mar a finales del siglo XVI*, 6 vols., (Madrid: Comisario General de España en la Expo de Lisboa '98, 1998): 1:67–89. See also *Anales de Madrid* de A. R. de León Pinelo, *Reinado de Felipe III. Años 1598 a 1621*, Ricardo Martorell Téllez-Girón, ed. (Madrid: Estanislao Maestre, 1931), 133–35; Perez Bustamante, *Felipe II*, 108–109; and the anonymous *Discurso y recopilación universal de la jornada que su Magestad haze desde su Real Corte al Reyno de Portugal . . .* (Seville: Juan Serrano Vargas y Ureña, 1619), 2 fols.
16. The royal audiences are described in detail in the chronicles of the reign. See, for example, Matías de Novoa, "Memorias," in *CODOIN*, 61:206–9.
17. Francisco de Arce, *Fiestas reales de Lisboa, desde qu el Rey nuestro Señor entró, hasta que salió* (Lisbon: Jorge Rodríguez, 1619).
18. "Notre Dame de Porto Seguro," by Amado do Vale, oil on canvas; 154 x 380 cm.; currently in the Church of San Luis dos Franceses in Lisbon. It is reproduced in *Portugal et Flandre. Visions de l'Europe* (1550–1680), catalogue of an exhibition held in the Musée d'Art Ancien, part of the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique in Brussels, September 27–December 8, 1991 (Belgium, 1991), 224.
19. The Castilian version of Lavanha's book bore the title *Viaje de la Catolica Real Magestad del Rei D. Felipe III N. S. al Reino de Portugal i relacion del solene recebimiento qu en el se le hizo Su Magestad*. The Portuguese version was *Viagem da Catholica Real Magestade del Rey D. Filipe II N. S. ao Reyno de Portugal e rellação do solene recebimento que nelle se lhe fez. S. Magestade a mandou escrever por João Baptista Lavanha seu coronista mayor*. Both were published in Madrid in 1622 by Tomas

- Iunti.
20. "as mayores festas q. ja mais se viram." Anon., "Relação de varios acontecimentos sucedidos em Portugal e noutros países da 1618 a 1622," Universidade de Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral, Ms. 169, fol. 112.
 21. This speech by Doctor Ignacio Ferreira was reconstructed by Novoa in his "Memorias," CODOIN, 61:214–16. Francisco Arce, *Fiestas reales*, also praised Lisbon in poetry at the opening of his description of the royal visit.
 22. Many of the arches are depicted in detailed engravings in Lavanha, *Viagem da Catholica Real Magestade del Rey*. I would like to thank Patricia Lopes Don, whose doctoral dissertation will analyze the symbolism of the triumphal arches, for providing me with references to the many eyewitness accounts of Philip III's visit to Portugal.
 23. See Arce, *Fiestas reales*, and Novoa, "Memorias," in CODOIN, 61:221–26, for accounts of the business transacted by the king during his visit.
 24. Carla Rahn Phillips, *Six Galleons for the King of Spain: Imperial Defense in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 28–33.
 25. "Relación que se hizo a la República de Venecia Simón Contarini el año de 1607. . . ." *Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid, Ms. 2394, fols. 113–14.
 26. Barros, *Traçado e construção das naus portuguesas*, 33.
 27. María Isabel Vicente Maroto and Mariano Esteban Piñero, *Aspectos de la ciencia aplicada en la España del siglo de oro* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1991), 79–84. See also the brief biography of Lavanha by Francisco Contento Domingues, in the scholarly commentary to João Baptista Lavanha, *Livro primeiro da architectura naval* (Lisbon: Academia de Marinha, 1996), 125–29.
 28. Bound together with related documents, the "Livro primeiro" resides at the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. RAH (Madrid), Colección Salazar, N-63, fols. 41–78. The various other documents in the codex, some dated and signed by Lavanha and others not, date from the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth. The latest document seems to be from 1616. A facsimile of the "Livro primeiro de architectura naval" was recently published as João Baptista Lavanha, *Livro primeiro da architectura naval* (Lisbon: Academia de Marinha, 1996). It includes a transcription and accompanying scholarly commentary in Portuguese, and English translations of the whole by Richard Barker and Manuel Leitão.
 29. To quote Clarence Henry Haring, "Philip III, by entrusting the general control of naval matters to the Admiral, Diego Brochero, did much to remove the disdain formerly attaching to service on the sea. Brochero was given a seat in the Council, and by the ordinance of November, 1606, 'para las armadas del mar océano y flotas de Indias,' introduced reforms which attempted to restore some order and system, especially in the American fleets." Clarence Henry Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), 270. See also Jesús Varela Marcos, "El seminario de marinos: Un intento de formación de los marineros para las armadas y flotas de Indias," *Revista de Historia de América* 87 (January–June 1979): 9–36.
 30. Both João Baptista Lavanha and Matías Novoa mentioned Brochero's presence on the trip to Portugal. Lavanha, *Viagem*, fol. 1; Novoa, "Memorias," CODOIN, 61:194.
 31. Charles Boxer, "Admiral João Pereira Corte-Real and the Construction of Portuguese East-Indiamen in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Mariner's Mirror* 26 (1940): 392.
 32. In Senna Barcellos, "Construções de naus

- em Lisboa," *Boletim de Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa*, Ser. 17, No. 1 (1898-99): 24. Corte-Real's proposal, dated September 12, 1619, is discussed and transcribed in full on 18-29.
33. Novoa, "Memorias," in CODOIN, 61:225.
 34. João Pereira Corte-Real, *Discursos sobre la navegación de las naos de la India de Portugal* (Madrid, 1622). The quotation comes from paragraph 1. [translation by C. R. Phillips.]
 35. Barcellos, "Construcções de naus em Lisboa," 18. The printed 1618 Spanish regulations are at the Archivo General de Marina (AGM), Museo Naval, Madrid, C. F. 134.
 36. Gonçalo de Sousa, "Corosidades," Universidad de Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral, Ms. 3074. The description of the *nau da India* appears on fols. 9v-22. See the discussions in Pimentel Barata, *O traçado das naus e galeões portugueses*, 8-9, passim; Da Costa, "Acerca do 'Livro de traças,'" 128; and Xavier, "Novos elementos," 21-47. Besides several differences in the numbers, there are two gaps in Fernandes's table: the keel for the 700-ton vessel, and the depth for the 100-ton vessel. It is as if an existing list of ship dimensions was either miscopied or shifted at will to create a set of configurations more pleasing to the author. It is not clear whether to attribute the final appearance of the table to Fernandes or to whoever made the final copy of the "Livro de traças."
 37. Barros, *Traçado e construção das naus portuguesas*, "Introduction." Guedes and Lombardi, eds., *Portugal-Brazil*, 63, picture caption, described it as "not always technically rigorous."
 38. A discussion and list of Portuguese measures is included in the commentary by João da Gama Pimentel Barata in the recent edition of Lavanha's *Livro primeiro da architectura naval*, 107-13 in Portuguese, and 227-36 in English, translated with additional notes by Richard Barker. The Spanish ordinances of 1618 include a scale for a quarter-codo, drawn in ink at the end of the printed text. AGM, Madrid, Museo Naval, C. F. 134.
 39. In June of 1997, King Juan Carlos I of Spain escorted a Portuguese delegation through the General Archive of Simancas (AGS) near Valladolid, the main repository for Spanish documents from the Habsburg period. According to a story in the local newspaper, in his official remarks the king warmly invited his guests to seek out the history of their country amid the documentary treasures at Simancas, noting that both countries would benefit from knowing more about one another. I have searched unsuccessfully for traces of Manuel Fernandes in several sections of the AGS, as well as the Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN) and the Biblioteca Nacional (BN) in Madrid, but I have by no means exhausted the possibilities of those collections.



Now Available —

THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE FIFTY-YEAR INDEX

A milestone in maritime bibliography, reference and research. For the first time in a single comprehensive volume, the editors of *The American Neptune* have compiled a singular global index of all issues. Spanning from 1941 through 1990, the 375-page Index references articles, book reviews, maps, charts, paintings, prints, photographs, various writings and pictorials that have made the *Neptune* one of the premier maritime journals for the past half century.

Designed for the maritime professional, enthusiast or student, the Index covers a full spectrum of maritime topics by country, region, island, coast, inland or oceanic water. For easy reference, contributing authors and their works are listed alphabetically. Hundreds of vessels are cited by name and type, from ancient to modern, sail to steam, bark to ocean liner. Library of Congress boldface headings and a guide to their use offer broad search routes and options.

The cost of the Fifty-Year Index is \$39 for *Neptune* subscribers, \$50 for nonsubscribers. Shipping and handling is included. To order, write to:

Neptune Publications
Peabody Essex Museum
East India Square
Salem, MA 01970

You may charge your order by fax (978) 744-6776 or e-mail dori_phillips@pem.org. All orders must be paid in US dollars drawn on a US bank account.

LIEUTENANT ANDREW H. FOOTE AND THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE

by Spencer C. Tucker

On September 28, 1849, U.S. Secretary of the Navy William Ballard Preston ordered Lieutenant Andrew H. Foote to report to the Gosport Navy Yard and take command of the brig *Perry*, then fitting out for African service. Foote had twenty-seven years of naval service, the last nineteen as a lieutenant. Few had his experience at sea or his reputation for excellent seamanship.¹

The *Perry* was part of an international effort to suppress the slave trade. Britain had borne the brunt of this burden. In 1807 Britain abolished the slave trade, and at the end of the Napoleonic Wars London had employed part of its navy in the task of halting traffic in slaves. British warships stationed off the west coast of Africa stopped and inspected vessels suspected of being slavers. On capturing such vessels, the Royal Navy returned the slaves to Africa and brought the crews to trial.

Ownership of slaves was legal in the United States, and the country was one of the world's

principal slave-owning nations, but on March 2, 1807, Congress banned the importation of slaves as of January 1, 1808. The law provided for forfeiture of vessels and their cargoes, with disposal of seized slaves left to the state in which the ships were condemned.

Congress strengthened this in an act in March 1819 that offered a \$50 bounty to informers for every illegally imported slave seized on land or at sea. In May 1820 Congress empowered President James Monroe to return illegal slaves to Africa. At the same time it declared the foreign slave trade a form of piracy. In addition to the forfeiture of vessels previously authorized, it provided the death penalty for Americans caught in the slave trade, but few U.S. warships visited the African coast to enforce the ban.²

In order to halt the slave trade, Secretary of the Navy Seth Thompson (1819–1823) directed that ships of the Mediterranean squadron returning to the United States travel via the African coast and the West Indies. This accomplished little, and in 1821 he ordered Lieutenant Commander Robert F. Stockton to cruise against the African slave trade in the schooner *Alligator*. Thompson also ordered Lieutenant Commander Matthew C. Perry in the schooner *Shark* to the Madeira and Cape Verde islands. These efforts were largely ineffectual.³

Spencer C. Tucker holds the John Biggs Chair of Military History at the Virginia Military Institute. He is the author or editor of fourteen books of military/naval history, the most recent of which are *Andrew H. Foote, Civil War Admiral on Western Waters* and *Handbook of Nineteenth-Century Naval Warfare*, both published by the Naval Institute Press this year.

Meanwhile, Royal Navy enforcement of anti-slaving measures was hindered not only by the failure of the U.S. Navy to provide significant naval strength off Africa but because, although most other nations had granted permission to the British to search vessels flying their flags, the United States steadfastly refused. This was the consequence of the long and painful history of British searches of U.S. ships and impressment of seamen, one of the major causes of the War of 1812. Indeed, while eschewing it in practice, the Royal Navy had never abandoned the principle of impressment.

Even as strong an anti-slavery advocate as Secretary of State John Quincy Adams (1817–1825) opposed granting the Royal Navy the right to search American ships. When British Foreign Secretary George Canning asked if there was anything more evil than the slave trade, Adams said, “Yes, admitting the right of search by foreign officers of our vessels upon the seas in time of peace, for that would be making slaves of ourselves.” Strong Southern political pressure also worked against enforcement.⁴

Such sentiment manifested itself in declining Congressional appropriations for suppression of the slave trade. In 1819 Congress authorized \$100,000 for this work, but this shrank to \$50,000 in 1823 and to only \$7,433.37 in 1839.⁵

As a consequence, most of the African slave trade was carried on in American-built vessels flying the Stars and Stripes. Swift American slave clippers immune from British search crowded the slave ports of Rio de Janeiro and Havana. Spanish, Portuguese, and Brazilian ships would often sail from Cuba or Brazil with false papers and an American on board who could pose as her captain if the ship were stopped by a Royal Navy vessel. By the early 1840s the situation was so bad that the governor of Liberia, Thomas Buchanan, claimed that the American flag was the chief obstacle to ending the slave trade.⁶ In 1844 the American

minister to Brazil reported:

I regret to say this, but it is a fact not to be disguised or denied that the slave-trade is almost entirely carried on under our flag in American-built vessels, sold to slavers here, chartered for the coast of Africa, and these sold, or sold here—delivered on the coast. And, indeed, the scandalous traffic could not be carried on to any great extent were it not for the use made of our flag, and the facilities given for the chartering of American vessels to carry to the coast of Africa the outfit for the trade and the material for purchasing slaves.⁷

Such activity could be very lucrative. On her very first voyage the fast Baltimore-built *Venus*, which had cost \$30,000, transported eight hundred slaves. They were then sold at a net profit of some \$300 apiece, eight times the purchase price of the ship.

Mounting public pressure over the slave trade led President Martin Van Buren in 1838 to order that the U.S. Navy again patrol the West African coast. Although Secretary of the Navy James F. Paulding sent a number of small fast vessels there, little was accomplished in actually halting the traffic in slaves.⁸

In 1841 tensions over the stopping of American ships by Royal Navy cruisers led President John Tyler to declare in a speech to Congress that he recognized no difference between the rights of visit and search, and that if the British detained ships that turned out to be bonafide American they would be liable for damages. London, however, continued to press the United States to give up its ban on Royal Navy searches or to send a sufficient number of vessels to the African coast to investigate suspected slavers flying the American flag. Finally, the August 9, 1842, Webster-Ashburton Treaty, which also settled the long-running boundary dispute between



Commander Andrew Hull Foote, U.S. Navy.
Engraved by George E. Perine, New York. Courtesy
of the Naval Historical Foundation.

the United States and Canada, provided for the maintenance of joint British-American squadrons to suppress the slave trade along the African coast. Each power committed itself to maintaining an African squadron mounting at least eighty guns. While the two squadrons would operate independently, they were to coordinate their actions to secure maximum effectiveness.

As a consequence of this agreement, in 1843 Congress provided funding for a much larger African squadron, initially commanded by Commodore Matthew C. Perry. His orders were to protect American commerce and suppress the slave trade carried out by Americans or under the U.S. flag. The same orders reminded Perry that Washington did not recognize the right of any

other nation (*i.e.*, Britain) to visit or detain vessels belonging to American citizens.⁹

Foote's *Perry* was to join the African Squadron in 1849, commanded by Commodore Francis H. Gregory. It numbered five vessels mounting a total of seventy-eight guns, actually under the Webster-Ashburton Treaty minimum. The squadron had an immense area to patrol, from westernmost Africa at Cape Verde in Senegal to Cape Frio in southern Angola.

Given the paucity of its resources on station and the vast distances and problems involved, it is hardly surprising that the U.S. African Squadron took few slavers. By 1847 as many as 100,000 slaves a year were being shipped to the New World.¹⁰

While he was pleased to have his first command afloat and to be reunited with Gregory, who had been his first commanding officer, Foote was not excited about the prospects of African service. He even wrote to influential friends in Washington to try to get his orders changed to the Mediterranean Squadron. This was unsuccessful, and, as it turned out, Africa was an ideal assignment for the highly principled and staunchly Christian Foote.¹¹

Foote knew the difficulties of African service. From any creek or estuary along five thousand miles of coastline slave ships might be loading their cargoes. Most slavers were fast sailing vessels, difficult to catch, and the West African coast was wild and inhospitable. Long known as the "white man's grave," it had fewer than one thousand whites, the vast majority of whom were traders restricted to the few coastal settlements. Searing heat alternated with torrential rains, ports of call were few, and crews ran the risk of contracting exotic diseases while in open boats on patrol.¹² As one naval historian has put it, "Hard work, yellow fever, frustration and adverse criticism were the usual rewards for African service."¹³

The *Perry*, rated at ten guns, had been built at the Norfolk Navy Yard and placed in service in October 1843. At 280 tons she was one of the faster

vessels in the U.S. Navy. In and out of service throughout her life as a U.S. warship, she had already cruised off Africa. Armed with two 32-pounder long guns and six 32-pounder carronades, she had a crew of half a dozen officers and eighty seamen and Marines.¹⁴

The *Perry* sailed from Hampton Roads on November 27. Foote, who was one of the foremost advocates of naval temperance, was pleased that he had been able to get all crew members to sign the temperance pledge before sailing. The *Perry* made a fast crossing of the Atlantic without incident, although rough weather caused most of the officers and men to be seasick. The *Perry* joined the rest of the squadron at Porto Praya in the Cape Verde Islands on December 21. After reporting to Gregory in the Portsmouth, Foote oversaw preparing his ship for cruising off Africa.¹⁵

In early January 1850 British authorities at Porto Praya informed Commodore Gregory that American slavers were active along the coast south of the equator. This was below the normal American cruising area, and no U.S. warship had been in the area for three years. Foote and Gregory agreed that the *Perry* would spend at least five months off the coast and cruise as far south as 13° latitude. Foote's instructions called on him to intercept American slavers while protecting lawful U.S. vessels from search by other nations, to examine principal slave trading points below the equator, to cooperate with the Royal Navy where possible, to exercise his own judgment in other matters, and to be certain to look to the health of his crew.¹⁶

Foote was not optimistic, given his own rather precarious health and because he judged his ship poorly equipped for such a cruise. He had also discovered that his master and midshipmen were poor navigators and this forced him to take his own reckonings, which severely taxed his eyes, with which he had serious problems as a consequence of earlier service in the Mediterranean. Despite these difficulties Foote wrote that he hoped the cruise would be a chance for him to do

humanity's work as well to "obtain a name" for himself.¹⁷

The *Perry* departed the Cape Verde Islands on January 9, 1850. Ten days later she arrived at Monrovia, Liberia, to take on provisions for the long trip south. Foote was also able to secure additional supplies from the sloop Yorktown, which was at Monrovia when she arrived.¹⁸

Founded in 1821 by the American Colonization Society with the aim of resettling blacks in Africa, the Republic of Liberia in 1850 was led by capable Virginia octroon President Joseph J. Roberts. Foote arranged an exchange of visits, and when Roberts came aboard the *Perry* he welcomed him with a 21-gun salute. Monrovia's population was then two thousand and Foote was much impressed by what he saw there. Later he urged U.S. diplomatic recognition of Liberia and became an energetic supporter of the American Colonization Society. Convinced of the higher value of western civilization, and that whites had a duty to guide and uplift blacks, Foote saw that opportunity in Liberia, which offered the "freedom and incentives to higher motives of action . . . conducive to virtue." Christian missionaries could help by spreading the Gospel and introducing public education. Foote's visit to Monrovia was influential in shaping his attitude toward blacks, and he believed that, despite having begun their lives in bondage, blacks had "capacity beyond what we are inclined to admit."¹⁹

After her brief stop at Monrovia the *Perry* sailed south. She reached St. Philip de Benguela, the southernmost point of her sailing station, forty-one days later, on March 7. During the passage the Americans stopped and boarded three vessels, all found to be legal traders.

Foote's health had now worsened. In addition to problems with his eyesight, he developed headaches and lumbago and often was unable to leave his bed.²⁰

He was also having problems with several of his officers, most notably First Lieutenant William B. Renshaw. Although Foote was not opposed to corporal punishment, he preferred to influence the crew through example and religious instruction, and Renshaw and others disagreed with this approach. Foote wrote in his journal on January 29, "I am determined however to carry out my own system wherever I do command."²¹

Foote was handicapped in his operations because St. Philip de Benguela was hopelessly removed from Porto Praya. Counting the stop at Monrovia, it took the *Perry* two months to reach there. The distances involved left little time on station before the brig would run short of water and provisions and have to return to Porto Praya. In a report to the Navy Department he argued unsuccessfully for a more southerly base closer to the center of slave trading activities.²²

On arriving off the Portuguese settlement of St. Paul de Loanda, Foote learned that American merchants were conducting a growing trade in the region in dye-stuffs, gums and palm oil. This American financial stake was actually greater than that of the British, French, or Portuguese, all of whom had squadrons along the southern African coast and consuls to protect their interests.²³

Foote wrote to the Navy Department to recommend that the United States establish a permanent African coastal presence both in "one or two men of war" and diplomatic personnel. He also spelled out how slave running was being conducted in ships with two sets of papers, one American and the other Brazilian. The ship would originally have been American, sold in Latin America but retaining her original papers. She would sail to Africa with an American captain and crew and legitimate cargo. There the identity would change. Usually a Portuguese or Brazilian captain and crew would come on board along with the cargo of slaves. The ship would then sail with the American papers, which could be presented if stopped. If in the rare chance that a slaver was stopped by a U.S. warship, her captain would

show the legitimate foreign registration.²⁴

Although Foote publicly expressed his approval of the U.S. stance on refusing British captains the right to search American flag ships, in private he was troubled by it, especially when he learned the way slavers were using the American flag, as in the case of the barque *Navarre*, boarded by H.M.S. *Firefly* on March 19 "when under American colors, and captured under Brazilian colors." He believed that his government's approach had put the country "on the side of the slave traders."²⁵

British captains were glad to have a U.S. warship in the area and they approached Foote about cruising with them. He agreed, and the *Perry* soon headed for the area around Ambriz, a notorious slave port, there to patrol with several British warships. Most of the time the *Perry* operated with the steam frigate H.M.S. *Cyclops*, commanded by Captain George F. Hastings. Foote stopped and checked all ships flying the U.S. flag and used his boats in shore to search for slavers and slave collection points. The boats were on occasion away for a week or more.²⁶

Such work was difficult and took a toll on Foote's health. Forced to spend much of the time in bed in his cabin, he became convinced he was near death. The duty also affected his crew; several applied for reinstatement of their grog ration, although he managed to talk them out of it. He continued to have problems with Renshaw, who had by now alienated much of the crew and the other officers.²⁷

Foote must have been greatly cheered by the arrival in early April of the sloop *John Adams*, another ship in the American squadron, which then joined the *Perry* in patrol. This did not last long; the *Perry* was low on supplies and water and soon sailed for Prince's Island in the Gulf of Guinea to rendezvous with the flagship *Portsmouth*.

The *Perry* arrived at Prince's Island on April

27, and Foote immediately reported to Gregory. The cruise had lasted 107 days: eighty at sea and the remainder at anchor at various points along the coast. Gregory commended Foote for the discharge of his duties, but with the *John Adams* running short of provisions he ordered Foote to secure needed stores from the flagship and return to Ambriz.²⁸

The brief stay on Prince's Island did wonders for Foote's health. He enjoyed several restful days ashore, eating fresh food and being able to bathe. He also persuaded Gregory to take on Lieutenant Renshaw as his flag lieutenant, which he reported had an immediate calming effect aboard the *Perry*.²⁹

Gregory's new instructions were the same as before, with one notable exception. The commodore was unhappy with reports of the British detaining suspect American flag vessels and then threatening to hand them over for search by American warships. Gregory wanted Foote to assert U.S. authority. If a British captain decided to detain a suspected American ship he must do so on his own authority and not think he could rely on U.S. Navy connivance.³⁰

Foote disagreed. He believed that the American flag was only "prima facie" and not "conclusive proof" of nationality. While it would be wrong for the crew of a British warship to stop an American vessel and search her, no matter her cargo, this did not apply to a ship that was not American and was falsely flying the flag.³¹

Foote's boarding instructions, however, followed Gregory's orders:³²

If a vessel hoists the American flag—is of American build, has the name and place of ownership in the United States registered on her stern, or has but a part of these indications of her nationality—you will on boarding ask for her papers, which papers you will examine and retain, if she excites suspicion of being a slaver, until you have searched

sufficiently to satisfy yourself of her real character. If the vessel be American and doubts exist as to her character you will detain and bring her to this vessel, or if it can be done more expediently, you will dispatch one of your boats, communicating such information as will enable me to give specific directions, or to visit the vessel in person.

If the vessel be a foreigner, you will on the moment of ascertaining the fact, leave her, declining even the request of the captain to search, or to endorse her character as it must always be borne in mind that our government does not permit the search and detention of American vessels by foreign cruisers, and is consequently particular to observe towards the vessels of other nations the same line of conduct, which she exacts from foreign cruisers toward her own vessels. You will also remember that our squadron is on this coast solely for the protection of American commerce, and for the suppression of the slave trade as far as it may



U.S. brig *Perry* and American slave ship *Martha* off Ambriz June 6, 1850. Engraving from Foote's book, *Africa and the American Flag* (1854).

be carried on by American citizens, or under the American flag.

The *Perry* returned to her station off Ambriz. After boarding several vessels, all of which turned out to be legal traders, on June 6 Foote got lucky, probably because no U.S. Navy vessels were expected in the area for some time. At 3 P.M. that day a lookout on the *Perry* spotted a large ship standing in for Ambriz. An hour later the *Perry*, which had no colors flying, overhauled the ship, which had "Martha, New York" painted on her stern. Her captain, believing the brig to be a Royal Navy vessel, shortened sail and promptly hoisted the American flag. Foote then sent Second Lieutenant (Acting First Lieutenant) Madison Rush to board her.

As Rush's boat rounded the stern of the *Martha*, her captain, Henry M. Merrill, recognized the U.S. naval uniform and promptly ordered the U.S. flag hauled down and the Brazilian flag raised in its stead. When Rush demanded the ship's papers, Merrill said he had none. At the same time a lookout on the *Perry* saw men aboard the *Martha* throw something overboard and Foote sent another boat to retrieve it. It turned out to be the captain's writing desk, containing the log and papers identifying Merrill as a U.S. citizen and stating that the majority owner of the vessel was another American, living in Rio de Janeiro.

There were no slaves yet aboard, but all the equipment for the dreaded "Middle Passage" from Africa to the West Indies or the United States was in place, including a fully laid slave deck, 176 water casks filled with one hundred to one hundred fifty gallons each, one hundred fifty barrels of farina, and several sacks of beans to keep the human cargo alive during the passage. She also carried four hundred spoons, four boilers for cooking, and thirty to forty muskets.

Foote had ordered Rush to hold the ship to the first flag she raised. Captain Merrill protested that his vessel could not be searched or seized

while she was under the Brazilian flag. Foote's response was that he would then seize his ship as a pirate vessel for sailing without papers. Merrill then confessed that his vessel was indeed a slaver and that he had expected that night to take on board eighteen hundred slaves and would have been at sea before daybreak.

Merrill begged him not to, but Foote ordered the *Martha's* 35-man crew placed in irons. He sent the ship to New York under Rush, along with Acting Lieutenant Maurice Simons and a prize crew of twenty-five men, there to be condemned and sold. In New York Merrill jumped bond and escaped punishment; his first lieutenant was convicted and sentenced to two years in prison. The rest of the crew, being foreigners, were released. The capture of the *Martha* earned Captain Hastings' congratulations. He told Foote that he had given the slave trade "the heaviest blow" it had received since he had been on the African station.³³

The rest of the *Perry's* cruise was uneventful, although the men had to work harder than before now that their numbers were reduced by a third. Foote himself was buoyed by his triumph and busied himself with the daily operations of the brig. He was pleased that the crew retained a positive attitude despite the difficult conditions and added work.³⁴

When at their next meeting Gregory praised Foote for the efficiency and hard work of his reduced crew, Foote saw an opening and attributed it to his methods of discipline and especially to a grog-free environment. The imperfect nature of this system of discipline may be seen, however, in that the same week Foote ordered two of his crewmen flogged, one for drunkenness and the other for smuggling alcohol aboard ship.³⁵

In early August the *Perry* returned to Loanda for a prearranged meeting between Foote, Gregory, and British squadron commander Commodore Arthur Fanshawe. On August 15 Fanshawe arrived in the *Cyclops*. The three men met to see if they might resolve their differences

regarding searches of possible slavers. Fanshawe claimed that all vessels taken by the Royal Navy were at least partially Brazilian. He also said that, had any of them clearly been U.S. vessels, the British would not have interfered with them. Gregory argued that the British had indeed interfered with bona fide U.S. merchant ships, and that even if they were involved in illegal trade these ships were off limits to the British. The U.S. Navy would be responsible for U.S. ships involved in the slave trade. As he put it, "we choose to punish our own rascals in our own way."³⁶

Footo took no part in the discussions. It would have been inappropriate for him as a junior officer to have questioned his commander in such a matter, but he was clearly unhappy with Washington's position regarding searches. As he put it in his journal, "I had little or no sympathy for them & rather than had them escape was gratified that the English had captured them." Footo would have preferred that U.S. warships had taken them, but until the *Perry's* service no U.S. warship had been off the southern African coast in at least two years. The United States had not even lived up to its obligation to maintain an 80-gun squadron on anti-slavery patrol.³⁷

The meeting between the British and American commanders was interrupted on August 18 with the arrival of a British merchantman with news of a suspected slaver in Ambriz, less than a day's sail away. The Royal Navy had boarded her in the belief that she was Brazilian; on learning that she was American, they requested a U.S. Navy warship. Gregory immediately dispatched Footo to investigate.

Footo was able to intercept the suspected slaver, which proved to be the brigantine *Chatsworth* of Baltimore. Her papers seemed to be in order, but her crew was entirely foreign with the exception of her young American captain. Footo was certain the *Chatsworth* was a slaver and instructed Renshaw to sail her to Loanda for dis-

position. There he explained to Gregory his reasons for seizing her. Her cargo included one hundred bags of farina, jerked beef, and casks and barrels sufficient to carry water for a large slave cargo. She also carried a quantity of plank sufficient to build a slave deck. A letter from the reputed owner of the ship, written in Portuguese, instructed the American captain that he was to leave the ship whenever he was directed to do so by an Italian supercargo by the name of Francisco Serralunga, who seemed to be the final authority on the ship. The *Chatsworth* was also known to have shipped a cargo of slaves on her last voyage and she had been apprehended at one of the most notorious locations for slaving [note to author: could you please be more specific as to location?]. Although Gregory agreed with Footo that the *Chatsworth* was probably a slaver, he nonetheless ordered her released, concluding there was insufficient evidence to gain a judgment in a U.S. court.³⁸

At the end of August Gregory returned to Porto Praya; before departing he told Footo that, much as he regretted this decision, no other ships were available and the *Perry* would have to resume her patrol duties along the southern African coast. On August 24, 1850, the brig began her third cruise in the area.

Footo had not forgotten about the *Chatsworth*, and he now attempted a ruse in hopes of catching her in slaving. The *Perry* originally sailed south from Loanda, but once she was out of sight of land Footo ordered a new course to the north for Ambriz. Again he caught the *Chatsworth* off that port and conducted a thorough search of her, but he could find no evidence of slavery activities. When on September 5 Footo again departed Ambriz he left behind some men in the brig's cutter to keep the *Chatsworth* under surveillance.³⁹

Footo then sailed the *Perry* north to the Angolan port of Ambrizete. Believing it would be to the benefit of an American-owned factory there, Footo went ashore to meet with the queen of the area. He tried to impress on her the advantages that would accrue from "trading with our

people with gum, copper, bronze, instead of permitting her own people to be sold as slaves for the purchase of goods." The queen complained about warships, and especially their boats, chasing her fishing boats and taking their catch, "the principal support of her people." Foote assured her that the U.S. Navy was forbidden to do this and that "we were her friends and the friends of her people." He concluded that occasional visits with native authorities would help increase U.S. trade.⁴⁰

When the *Perry* again returned to Ambriz, Foote learned that four thousand slaves had been gathered to be shipped from the area. Determined to prevent this, on September 11 Foote ordered the *Chatsworth* seized. To assure that this time the charges would stick, Foote secured statements from legitimate traders in the area that the ship had earlier been engaged in slaving activities and that her owner in Rio had admitted that he was ordering her on another slaving voyage.

Foote informed Gregory that he could prove the *Chatsworth* carried two sets of papers: one U.S. and the other Brazilian. He also managed to secure a confession from the ship's master of her true mission. Italian supercargo "Serralunga," who was ashore inspecting the slaves to be loaded when the vessel was seized, protested what he described as an illegal seizure and asserted that no U.S. court would ever condemn the vessel for slave running. He also threatened Foote with \$15,000 in damages; Foote said he was willing to run that risk. Almost certainly "Serralunga" was Theodore Canot, a prominent figure in the African slave trade known as "Mr. Gunpowder" for his violent rages. Foote believed he was the real owner. Ignoring his threats, Foote sent the *Chatsworth* to Baltimore under Acting Sailing Master (passed midshipman) Edmund Shepherd and Midshipman Oliver P. Allen, where after a prolonged trial in district court she was indeed condemned as a slaver. Foote believed she was a greater loss to the African slave trade than the *Martha*.⁴¹

In defying his commanding officer's earlier

judgment and possibly embarrassing him, Foote risked his naval career; he had also laid himself open to possible personal financial ruin. The *Chatsworth* incident clearly shows Foote's determination to pursue a course he believed morally correct, regardless of possible personal consequences.

The rest of the *Perry*'s cruise was without incident, and on September 19 Foote ordered her to sail for St. Helena in the South Atlantic. During the passage to the island the *Perry* chased down one vessel, which turned out to be a Portuguese brig. On October 10 she arrived at Jamestown, St. Helena, for what would be a ten-day stay and a well earned rest for the crew.

Foote established a cordial relationship with the British authorities on St. Helena, although he did press his case in the matter of several vessels the British captured. He held that because these ships carried false U.S. papers, they should be considered as under U.S. Navy jurisdiction. The British may have thought this a matter of ego or cash incentive for Foote, but it was for him purely a legal issue. Privately he acknowledged that much of American African trade was indirectly bound up in the slave trade, and he never doubted British motives. As he concluded, "I really believe . . . that the British officers generally mean to do right & act liberally in the suppression of the slave trade. Our flag has been much abused & I do wish that an arrangement might be made by which all slavers might be taken by any nation."⁴²

After a passage of ten days from St. Helena the *Perry* arrived at Loanda. After several days there she resumed cruising off Ambriz in the company of the *Cyclops*. Foote was able to report to Secretary of the Navy William A. Graham that after the capture of the *Chatsworth* there were "no suspicious American vessels on the Coast."⁴³

At the end of December his ship's food and stores almost depleted and his crew reduced in half by the need to man the captures, Foote ordered the *Perry* to return to Porto Praya. By then

he and two young acting lieutenants were her only remaining officers. The *Perry* had been almost constantly on station an entire year, during which time she had sailed some twenty-one thousand miles. In reflecting about the cruise in his journal, Foote expressed pride in his accomplishments. Without doubt it had been the most taxing year of his life, but "with God's blessing" he had handled a difficult and responsible diplomatic and naval assignment well and accomplished much for himself, for the Navy, and for his country.⁴⁴

On January 8, 1851, the *Perry* dropped anchor at Porto Praya. Foote fully expected that Gregory would order him and his ship home. He and his men were worn out, and the *Perry* was now in serious need of repairs. Concerns about his ship were real. Even before leaving the United States he had pointed out that the *Perry* had been rushed back into service without the overhaul she should have received after her previous cruise. Within a month of her sailing, on December 22, 1849, Foote had written a long letter to Chief of the Bureau of Construction Equipment and Repair Commodore Charles Skinner enumerating numerous complaints: the *Perry* was leaking badly, her copper was worn out, and much of her rigging needed to be replaced. Now, more than a year later, he could add to that list the need of a new suit of sails and new wood and iron fittings.⁴⁵

Instead, Gregory, who had few ships and a vast area of responsibility, ordered Foote to embark on another Angolan cruise. Foote believed this could be a death sentence, and it led him to an explosion of anger and an indiscretion that almost caused Gregory to order him home without his ship.⁴⁶

The unstated and real cause of problems between the two men was Foote's anger at seeing his ship the only active member of the squadron and Gregory's refusal to order the brig and her crew home. In order to make up the serious shortage in his own officers, Foote requested that

officers on the flagship be transferred to him. He especially wanted Lieutenant William M. Porter as his executive officer. Protocol and common sense dictated that he first informally ask Porter and then Gregory before making a formal request. A misunderstanding led to a series of sharp notes between Foote and Gregory. Foote even asked that he be relieved of his command to plead his case personally before the secretary of the navy. To his credit, Gregory worked to defuse the situation by assuring Foote of his full confidence, support, and friendship. Foote then accepted Gregory's remarks as proof of vindication.⁴⁷

Foote, assisted by two additional officers, one of them new First Lieutenant Porter, and some men to make up for those sent home in two prize crews, now prepared the *Perry* for yet another cruise below the equator, including installing a new suit of sails provided by the sailmaker on the Portsmouth.

The *Perry* left Porto Praya on February 20 and arrived off Ambriz twenty-two days later. Her third cruise off the southern Africa coast was uneventful. British officials at Loanda informed Foote that there was now little slavery activity in the area. Only one slaver had been taken since January. Foote then sailed his brig north to the vicinity of the mouth of the Congo River, another active point for the slave trade, where he again cooperated with the British squadron. The new British commodore told him that joint British-American efforts had virtually ended the slave trade on the southern coast. As the *Perry* represented almost the entire American effort in that regard, Foote must have been pleased.⁴⁸

The more relaxed nature of the third cruise was reflected in a second visit to St. Helena, beginning on May 29. Later Foote allowed his crew liberty in Elephants' Bay along the African coast south of the Congo River, where the men fished and hunted. Foote hoped to shoot a few rare tropical birds as specimens for the Philadelphia Academy of Science, but apparently the men were not sufficiently good shots to accomplish this.⁴⁹

After a stop at Monrovia on June 30 the *Perry* returned to Porto Praya. Foote was disappointed that no U.S. warships were in the port and no orders to return home. The *Perry* was now leaking badly and her rigging and iron work had further deteriorated. Foote was particularly anxious to sail the Atlantic in the summer; a winter crossing might prove disastrous for the brig in her weakened state. Morale was low and discipline had sharply deteriorated. There was a corresponding increase in punishments, and a number of crew members petitioned Foote for restoration of the grog ration. Foote noted in his journal that even the officers were affected and "in a great state of excitement and indignation at Commodore

Gregory."⁵⁰

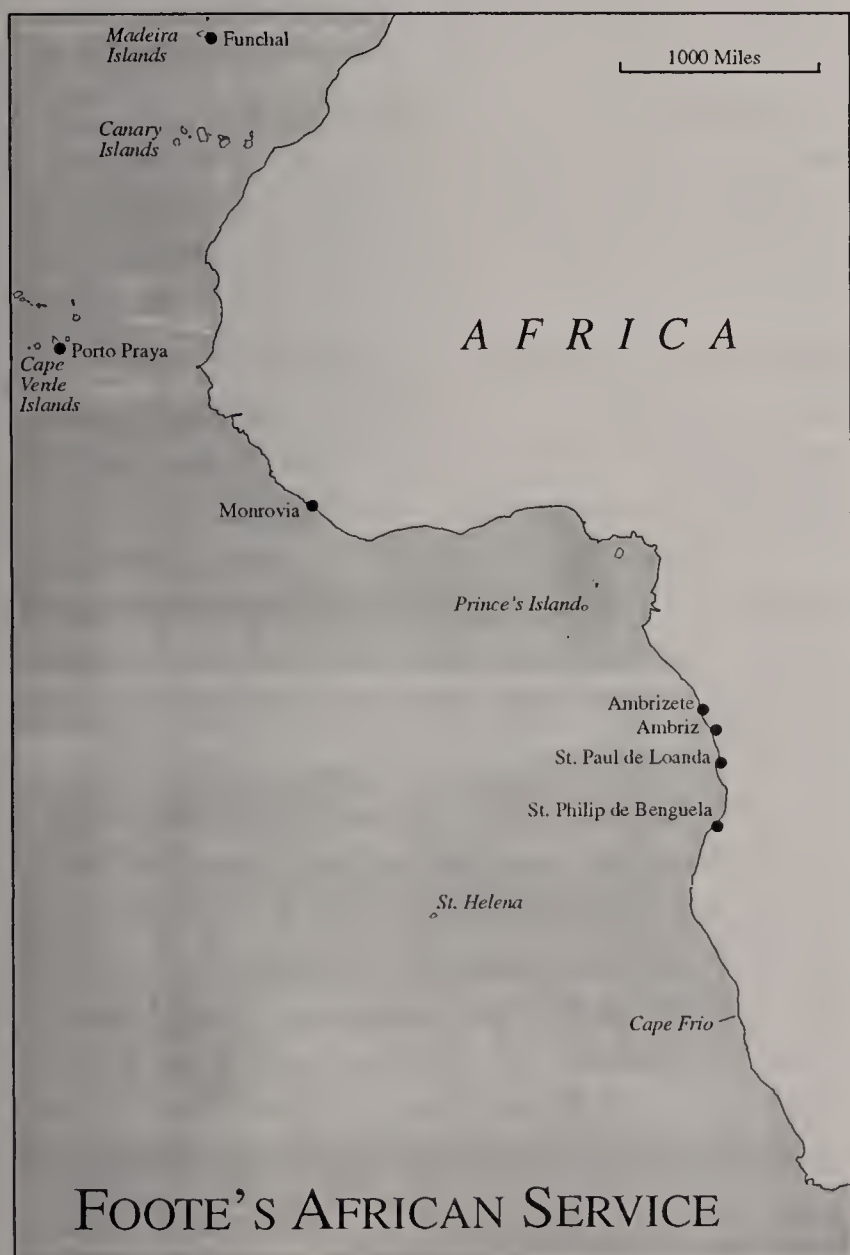
New squadron commander Commodore Eli LaVallette, who had sailed a few days earlier, left word that Foote was either to wait at Porto Praya or to proceed to Funchal, Madeira. Foote elected for the latter. The *Perry* arrived at Funchal on August 8 and spent six weeks there. Shore liberty greatly improved morale.

Foote was, however, furious when he learned that Gregory, without personally inspecting the brig, had informed his successor that she was fit for additional service. Although the nimble *Perry* was the only one of Gregory's ships suitable for extended coastal work against slavers, Foote was justified in his conclusion that for the past two years she had been the only vessel in the squadron actively employed.⁵¹

Leaving Madeira on September 20, the *Perry* arrived at Porto Praya on October 1. Finally, on November 12 Commodore LaVallette arrived at the port, came aboard the *Perry*, and informed Foote that he had just received orders dated June 17 to send her home. Foote and his crew now worked quickly to prepare the *Perry* for what would now be a hazardous winter Atlantic crossing. On November 15 the crew hoisted anchor. The *Perry* sailed out into the Atlantic, accompanied by cheers from seamen on the other ships of the squadron. Foote wrote in his journal: "Thus adieu to the coast of Africa. . . . I shall never perhaps in life be called upon to act again so responsible a part on my own judgment."⁵²

The Atlantic crossing was without incident and accomplished in twenty-six days. On December 23, 1851, the *Perry* tied up at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. She had been gone twenty-five months and had traveled 40,500 miles.⁵³

Foote spent the next four years ashore, the longest such period since he had joined the Navy. Tired and spent, he was no doubt pleased to receive an official letter of thanks from Commodore Gregory and new Secretary of the Navy James C. Dobbin.⁵⁴



Map of Foote's African service. Drawn for the author by Donald S. Frazier.

Foote's achievements had indeed been remarkable. His crew had stopped and boarded seventy vessels. They had seized only two of these, but they were among the most important slavers taken in this period and both actions had been upheld by U.S. courts. Put in perspective, during the period 1843–1857 the U.S. African Squadron took only nineteen vessels, of which only six were condemned. Foote's tally was a third of the total.⁵⁵

It is also remarkable that not one crew member died during the *Perry's* two years in African service; the death rate for the British squadron during the period was five percent. Foote attributed the excellent health of his crew to not allowing the men to stay on shore at night and their lack of a grog ration.⁵⁶ Although he and his men were disappointed that they never received prize money for the two African captures, Foote had the satisfaction of having established his reputation both as an energetic naval commander and accomplished seaman. He claimed this was worth more to him than any financial gain.⁵⁷

Foote, who was promoted to commander in December 1852, now flung himself into reform activities. He visited Washington to lobby Congress for an end to the spirit ration. In his free time he was a frequent public lecturer on topics as temperance, improving conditions for sailors, and support for overseas missionaries.⁵⁸ He was also in the forefront of efforts to end the slave trade. Although a northerner and a Whig, he had never been an abolitionist and regarded Southern slavery as rather benign, but he returned from Africa convinced that the way to end slavery was to support efforts at colonization in Liberia. He joined the American Colonization Society and became one of its most ardent backers. In speeches he told of his firsthand knowledge of the effectiveness of the Liberian experiment. He was impressed with Liberia's leaders, especially President Roberts, and he was convinced that the country would soon become rich with an economy based on agriculture, mining, and trade. Liberia could be a beacon for the rest of Africa. Privately he expressed the

view that if he were black he would want to live in Liberia. Even if they were no longer slaves, blacks in America would still be in bondage to the white power structure and white racial attitudes.⁵⁹

Foote was particularly concerned over the possibility that the American African Squadron might be disbanded. There was much talk in Congress that U.S. warships were no longer necessary off Africa and that the squadron was a financial drain. Secretary of the Navy Graham was one of those who favored disbanding the squadron and allocating its vessels elsewhere. Foote opposed this in a letter to Graham, in public speeches, and on trips to Washington that included conversations with Senator John M. Clayton of Delaware and even President Millard Fillmore.⁶⁰

In April 1853 Foote received a letter from Navy Captain James L. Lardner of the *Dale*, who had just returned from Africa where his ship had captured two slavers. Lardner criticized the squadron's activities, noting that it seemed that "many of our naval officers are more afraid of slavers than the rascals are of them." This lack of action, he believed, had led to an increase in slavery activities, much to the shame of the United States Navy and the American flag.⁶¹

Lardner's letter may have been the final impetus for Foote, but in mid-1853 he began work on what would be his first and only serious writing effort, a book about Africa and the activities of the U.S. Navy African Squadron. He saw it as a means to persuade those in government to continue the effort to suppress the African slave trade and to publicize Liberia. He also hoped to secure personal recognition. Increasingly concerned about his health and aware that because of the seniority system he might finish his naval career as a commander, Foote saw the book as his possible legacy. He had ample time to write; his only Navy duties during this time period were to serve as judge advocate in courts martial of three officers held at nearby navy yards.⁶²

In 1854 Foote published *Africa and the American Flag*. The book is a well-written account

in which he stresses the contrasts of his African experience. It also is sometimes quite eloquent, as in this passage:⁶³

It is difficult in looking over the ship's side to conceive the transparency of the sea. The reflection of the blue sky in these tropic regions colors it like an opaque sapphire, till some fish startles one by suddenly appearing from beneath, seeming to carry daylight down with him into the depths below. One is then reminded that the vessel is suspended over a transparent abyss. There for ages has sunk the dark-skinned sufferer from "the horrors of the middle passage," carrying that ghastly daylight down with him, to rest "until the sea shall give up its dead," and the slaver and his merchant come from their places to be confronted with their victim.

The first two-thirds of the book treats African geography, botany, climate, zoology, and culture of western Africa, and Western efforts, including those of the United States, to halt the slave trade. Foote relied heavily on records of the American Colonization Society and secondary works by other authors. This section contains much conjecture, but it also contains a history of Liberia and operations of the American Colonization Society.

The last third of the book, its most important part, is the record of his own experiences in Africa with the U.S. squadron, in which he detailed efforts to suppress the slave trade. In it he praised the Colonization Society and made a strong argument for maintaining the U.S. African Squadron. He argued that the squadron was necessary in order to protect a growing American trade with Africa from both slavers and illegal searches by Royal Navy warships. He also pointed out that the U.S. squadron had helped reduce the slave trade because slavers could no longer hide

behind the U.S. flag immune from British search. Finally, the squadron would assure the continuing success of Liberia and the spread of Christianity in Africa. Problems for the squadron could be alleviated by moving its base from Porto Praya closer to the actual U.S. cruising station and adding fast steamers.⁶⁴

Foote made clear the horror of the slave trade and heaped contempt on those who profited from its great human misery. One day they would have to answer to God for "the theft of living men, the foulness and corruption of the steaming slave-deck, and the charnel-house of wretchedness and despair."⁶⁵

It is hard to tell the exact impact of the book on decision-making in Washington. Foote did send copies, along with covering letters, to influential friends in the capital, and during Congressional debate on the African Squadron, Senator Clayton read from a letter Foote had written. But sentiment in favor of maintaining the squadron had grown when, the year before, new Secretary of the Navy Dobbin had come out in favor of its continuation. As it turned out, Congress did not change the status quo; the African Squadron continued.⁶⁶

Navy officers, educators, leaders in the colonization movement, Protestant clergy, and newspapers across the country praised Foote's book, which was soon also published in London and established Foote as a leading figure within the African colonization movement.

On January 18, 1855, Foote addressed the annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society. In his remarks he supported legislation to deny consular sea-letters to American vessels sold abroad if they were bound for Africa. The ease of obtaining these had enabled many slavers to claim American nationality. He also argued for continued close cooperation between the Royal and U.S. Navies as vital in intercepting suspected slavers, and he suggested that if there was to be any modification in the

Webster-Ashburton Treaty that it should take the form of specifying the inclusion of small, light draft steamers in the American squadron. The Society then adopted a resolution supporting continuation of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty in its entirety and keeping the African Squadron on station and at full strength, rendering it more efficient by the inclusion of small steamers. The board also authorized publication of Foote's speech as a pamphlet; it appeared that same year under the title, "The African Squadron: Ashburton Treaty: Consular Sea Letters." Undoubtedly Foote's efforts helped sway the Congressional decision not to end the Webster-Ashburton Treaty.⁶⁷

The African cruise changed Foote, and its mission remained a passion. He continued to speak out for African colonization and vigorous U.S. action to suppress the slave trade. In July 1859 he sent Secretary of the Navy Isaac Toucey a long letter on the subject, in which he reiterated the reasons for vigorous enforcement. He argued for a supply depot to support operations off the southern African coast and, in contrast to many of his fellow officers, for vigorous cooperation with the Royal Navy as the best way to end the trade. He also believed that a strong U.S. presence off the African coast would help promote the success of Liberia. He saw his own best chance to secure a niche in history as being in suppression of the African slave trade, and he hoped to help accom-

plish this in command of one of the Navy's new light-draft steamers.⁶⁸

Foote's lobbying for an African Squadron bill was unsuccessful. Shortly after the Civil War began he received command of the U.S. Navy flotilla in the West and won the Union's first great victory in February 1862 by capturing Fort Henry on the Tennessee River, which won him promotion to admiral. He also participated in the Union victories at Fort Donelson and Island No. 10. However, a wound received in the attack at Fort Donelson, illness, and the strain of his work all took a toll. In April he left the Mississippi Squadron to recover. Even then African service remained in his mind. In July 1862, when he wrote Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles to request extended leave, he asked: "When the rebellion is crushed and a squadron is fitted out to enforce the new treaty for the suppression of the African slave-trade, I should be pleased to have command."⁶⁹

It was not to be. Returning to active service as head of the Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting, Foote was then named to command the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron. Andrew Foote died in New York City on June 26, 1863, of Bright's disease while waiting to take up his command. While he is principally remembered for his duty in China and his Civil War service, the assignment of which Foote was most proud during his long career was his command of the brig *Perry* in helping to halt the African slave trade.

~ NOTES ~

1. Preston to Foote, 28 September 1849, NHCHS; James M. Hoppin, *The Life of Andrew Hull Foote, Rear Admiral, United States Navy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1874), 66, 75–76.
2. Henry Steele Commager, ed., *Documents of American History*, 3d edition (New York: F. S. Crofts, 1946), 197; *The United States Statutes at Large*, III: 532–33; 600–1.
3. Edwin M. Hall, "Smith Thompson," *American Secretaries of the Navy*, Vol. 1: 1775–1913, Paolo Coletta, ed. (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1980), 125. The best short treatment of the subject is George M. Brooke, Jr., "The Role of the United States Navy in the Suppression of the African Slave Trade," *American Neptune* 21 (1961): 28–41.
4. W. Patrick Strauss, "James Kirke Paulding," *American Secretaries of the Navy*, Vol. 1: 1715–1913, 169; Adams quoted in J. Scott Harmon, "The United States Navy and the Suppression of the Illegal Slave Trade, 1830–1850," *New Aspects of Naval History. Selected Papers Presented at the Fourth Naval History Symposium*, Craig L. Symonds, ed. (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1981), 212.
5. James Tertius de Kay, *Chronicles of the Frigate Macedonian, 1809–1922* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995), 214–15.
6. Hugh Soulsby, *The Right of Search and the Slave Trade in Anglo-American Relations, 1814–1862* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1933), 42–49; Brooke, "The Role of the United States Navy," 37–38; *Andrew H. Foote, Africa and the American Flag* (New York: D. Appleton, 1854), 152.
7. Hoppin, *Life of Admiral Foote*, 73.
8. John R. Spears, *The American Slave-Trade, an Account of its Origin, Growth, and Suppression* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900), 38–39; Strauss, "James Kirke Paulding," 169.
9. Brooke, "Role of the United States Navy," 33; Commager, *Documents of American History*, 300; Paolo E. Coletta, "Abel Parker Upshur," *American Secretaries of the Navy*, Vol. 1: 1715–1913, 189; A. P. Upshur to Commander M. C. Perry, 30 March 1843, House Executive Documents, 35th Cong., 2d Sess., Ser. 1008, Exec. Doc. 104; Samuel Elliot Morison, "Old Bruin," *Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967), 164–78; Brooke, "Role of the United States Navy," 33–34.
10. "List of Captures by U.S. Squadron," under Article 8 of August 9, 1842 Treaty, House Executive Documents, 35th Cong., 2d Sess., Ser. 1008, Exec. Doc. 104; Hoppin, *Life of Foote*, 72–74; Brooke, "Role of the United States Navy," 38. Brooke points out that throughout the period the US maintained an average of fewer than the number of guns required, while the British maintained an average far in excess of the treaty minimum.
11. Foote to Senator Truman Smith, 15 November 1852, Foote Papers, LC.
12. Jay Slagle, *Ironclad Captain: Seth Ledyard Phelps and the U.S. Navy, 1841–1864* (Kent, Ohio and London: Kent State University Press, 1996), 39.
13. Morison, "Old Bruin," 164.
14. Howard I. Chapelle, *The History of the American Sailing Navy: The Ships and Their Development* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1949), 450, 452, 549; *Perry station bill*, Foote Papers, LC.
15. Foote's journal on the *Perry*, 29 November; 3,

- 4, 5, 21, 25 December 1849; 1 January 1850; Foote to Secretary of the Navy Preston, 21 December 1849, Foote Papers, LC.
16. Andrew H. Foote, *The African Squadron: Ashburton Treaty: Consular Sea Letters: Reviewed in an Address by Commander A. H. Foote* (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, 1855), 9; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 254–57; Foote journal, 31 December 1849; Foote Papers, LC. Secretary of the Navy Preston's general order concerning "Sanitary Regulations for the U.S. Squadron on the Coast of Africa," 23 January 1850, is in Foote Papers, LC.
17. Foote journal, 12 January 1850, Foote Papers, LC.
18. Foote to Gregory, 23 January and to Secretary of the Navy Preston, 24 January 1850, Foote Papers, LC; Captain John Marston of the Yorktown to Foote, 21 January 1850, Foote Papers, NHCHS; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 257.
19. Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 197–99, 205; Foote Journal, 7 January 1851, Foote Papers, LC.
20. Foote to Secretary of the Navy Preston, 7 March 1850, Foote Papers, LC; Foote journal, 8 January, 3 April, 29 May 1850, Foote Papers, LC; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 257.
21. Foote journal, 29 January, 2 and 9 February 1850, Foote to Secretary of the Navy Preston and Simons to Secretary of the Navy Preston, 12 March 1850, Foote Papers, LC.
22. Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 257–60.
23. Hoppin, *Life of Admiral Foote*, 81; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 67–70, 259–64.
24. Foote to Secretary of the Navy Preston, 21 March 1850, Foote Papers, LC; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 258–262.
25. Foote to Secretary of the Navy Preston, 27 March 1850 and to Commander Levin M. Powell, 10 April 1850; Foote Journal, 29 May 1850, Foote Papers, LC; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 258–60.
26. Foote to Gregory, 12 August 1850; G. Hastings to Foote, 24 March 1850; Commander John Tudor of the *Firefly* to Foote, 26 March 1850; Foote journal, 27 March, 5 April 1850; Perry log book, 24 March 1850, Foote Papers, LC; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 271, 277, 337; Hoppin, *Life of Admiral Foote*, 81.
27. Foote journal, 2 February; 1, 2, 5 April; 29 May 1850, Foote Papers, LC.
28. Foote to Gregory, 27, 29 April 1850; Gregory to Foote, 2 May 1850, Foote Papers, LC., *Africa and the American Flag*, 282–284.
29. Foote journal, 29 May 1850, Foote Papers, LC; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 283–84.
30. Gregory to Foote, 6 May 1850, Foote Papers, LC; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 285–86.
31. Foote journal, 21 June 1850, Foote Papers, LC.
32. Foote's order, 1 July 1850, Foote Papers, LC.
33. Foote to Gregory, 7 and 12 June 1850; and Foote to Rush and Simons, both 7 June 1850; Foote journal, 17 June 1850; Perry logbook, 7 and 8 June 1850, Foote Papers, LC; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 286–92; Hoppin, *Life of Admiral Foote*, 82–83; Gerard A. Forlenza, "A Navy Life: The pre-Civil War Career of Rear Admiral Andrew Hull Foote" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1991), 201.
34. Foote journal, 17 June 1850; Foote to Gregory, 5 August 1850, Foote Papers, LC.
35. Foote journal, 17 June 1850, Foote Papers, LC; Perry log, 3 and 9 August 1850, Foote Papers, LC.
36. Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 296–300; 339–40.
37. Foote Journal, 3 October 1850, Foote Papers, LC; the two-year period is in Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 260.
38. Foote to Renshaw, 17 August 1850; Hastings

- to Foote, 12 August 1850, containing report from Commander Hastings of the Rattler concerning the Chatsworth, Foote Papers, LC; Foote journal, 3 October 1850, Ibid.; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 301–5.
39. Foote to Acting Lieut. Edmund Selden, 5 September 1850, Foote Papers, LC.
 40. Foote to Gregory, 11 September 1850, Foote Papers, LC.
 41. Foote to Gregory, 14 September 1850; to Allen, 12 September 1850; to Shepherd, 14 September 1850; to Secretary of the Navy Preston with enclosures, 17 September 1850; Serralunga to Foote, 11 and 14 September 1850; Foote journal, 3 October 1850, Foote Papers, LC; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 318–23; Theodore Canot, *Adventures of an African Slaver*, Malcolm Cowley, ed. (New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1928), xix, 375–36; Hoppin, *Life of Admiral Foote*, 84.
 42. Foote to Gregory, 20 October 1850; Foote journal, 10 December 1850, 12 June 1851, Foote Papers, LC; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 326–35.
 43. Foote to Preston, 2 November 1850, Foote Papers, LC; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 336.
 44. Perry log, 8 and 22 November 1850, Foote Papers, LC; Foote journal, 1 January 1851, Foote Papers, LC.
 45. Foote to Gregory, 8 and 24 January 1851; Foote to Skinner, 22 December 1849, and undated letter; Perry log, 8 January 1851, Foote Papers, LC.
 46. Foote journal, 7 January and 13 March 1851; Foote to Gregory, 24 January 1851; Perry log, 8 June 1851, Foote Papers, LC.
 47. Foote to Gregory, 3, 4, and 5 February 1851; Gregory to Foote, 4 and 5 February 1851; Foote Papers, LC.
 48. Foote to Gregory, 17 April 1851; to Joseph Smith, 17 April 1851; to Secretary of the Navy Graham, 17 May 1851; Foote Journal, 22 May 1851, Foote Papers, LC; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 344–351.
 49. Foote to Secretary of the Navy Graham, 1 June 1851; Foote journal, 23 May, 12 June 1851, Foote Papers, LC; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 355.
 50. Foote to Secretary of the Navy Graham, 9 July 1851; Foote journal, 14 July 1851; Perry log, March–July 1851; Foote Papers, LC; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 369–70.
 51. Foote journal, 14 July 1851, Foote Papers, LC; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 16–17.
 52. Foote to Lavallette, 1 October 1851; Foote journal, 17 November, 12 December 1851, Foote Papers, LC; Forlenza, “A Navy Life,” 216.
 53. Perry log, 23 December 1851, Foote Papers, LC; Hoppin, *Life of Admiral Foote*, 88; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 377; Forlenza, “A Navy Life,” 216.
 54. Hoppin, *Life of Admiral Foote*, 86–87; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 377–378.
 55. Foote’s remarks to the American Colonization Society, 18 January 1855, in Hoppin, *Life of Admiral Foote*, 88; US, House Executive Documents, 31st Congress, 1st Session, IX, No. 73, 1–2; Brooke, “Role of the United States Navy,” 39.
 56. Foote, “The African Squadron: Ashburton Treaty Consular Sea Letters,” 7; Lloyd, *The Navy and the African Slave Trade*, 288.
 57. Foote to William Graham, 7 April 1852, Foote Papers, LC; Hoppin, *Life of Admiral Foote*, 88, 96.
 58. *Sailor’s Magazine* 24 (1852): 587–88; 619–20; Hoppin, *Life of Admiral Foote*, 97–99.
 59. Foote Journal, 29 January 1850; 11 December 1850; 7 January 1851, Foote Papers, LC; Hoppin, *Life of Admiral Foote*, 98–99; Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 105, 195–99, 205–9, 388.
 60. Foote to Secretary of the Navy Dobbin, 29 June 1854, Foote Papers, LC; Elliot Cresson to Foote, 10 June 1851, Foote Papers,

NHCHS; Soulsby, *American The Right of Search and the Slave Trade*, 135; Warren S. Howard, *American Slavers and the Federal Law, 1837-1862* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), 48; Hoppin, *Life of Admiral Foote*, 98.

61. James L. Lardner to Foote, 9 April 1853, Foote Papers, LC.
62. Foote journal, 11 January 1850, 2 April 1850; 11 January and 14 July 1851, Foote Papers, LC; Hoppin, *Life of Admiral Foote*, 96; Forlenza, "A Navy Life," 237.
63. Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 15-16.
64. Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 379-90; Howard, *American Slavers and the Federal Law*, 48-49; Soulsby, *American The Right of Search and the Slave Trade*, 133.
65. Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, 15, 103-5, 109, 178-79, 196-99.
66. Howard, *American Slavers and the Federal Law*, 48-49; Soulsby, *American The Right of*

Search and the Slave Trade, 133; Hoppin, *Life of Admiral Foote*, 100; "Report of the Secretary of the Navy, 1853," House Exec. Docs., I, Pt. 3, 33d Cong., 1st Sess., 299; various letters to Foote acknowledging receipt of his book, NHCHS.

67. Andrew Hull Foote, "The African Squadron: Ashburton Treaty: Consular Sea Letters. Reviewed, in an Address by Commander A. H. Foote, U.S.N." (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, 1855), 1-16.
68. Foote to Toucey, 14 July 1859, Foote Papers, LC.
69. Foote to Fox, 10 June 1862, Gustavus Fox, Confidential Correspondence of Gustavus Vasa Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, 1861-1865, Robert Means Thompson and Richard Wainwright, eds.; New York: De Vinne Press, 1918), II: 54; Foote to Welles, 13 June 1862, in Hoppin, *Life of Admiral Foote*, 328-29.

SHIP MODELS

SINCE 1975



Offering a wide selection of fully documented, one of a kind ship models produced by the world's finest professional marine model artists.

Also available: custom built models of yachts and historical ships, appraisals, restorations, display cases and lighting.

Member:

International Society of Appraisers associate
International Congress of Maritime Museums
U.S. Nautical Research Guild
Society for Historical Archaeology

Visit our gallery
(appointment preferred).
Catalog \$10.00
or free color brochure.



R. Michael Wall, Director



DEPT. AN 12 DERBY SQUARE, SALEM, MA 01970, USA * FAX: 978-745-5778 * 978-745-5777

Visit our Website: www.shipmodel.com

THE RIGHT OF UNRESTRICTED NAVIGATION ON THE MISSISSIPPI, 1812-1818

by Alfred R. Maass

On January 10, 1812, the 400-ton steamboat named the *New Orleans* for her destination, docked in that city. The significant fact about her arrival was that she was powered by a steam engine which, her owners anticipated, could propel her upstream to her point of origin. She was built in Pittsburgh following plans provided by Robert Fulton. Nicholas Roosevelt, owner of the Soho Works in New Jersey, supervised her construction. Roosevelt had manufactured the steam engine for the water pumping station in Philadelphia and had also experimented with a steamboat for Robert R. Livingston in 1798. In 1811 Fulton employed him to explore the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to test the suitability of the first steamboat on the inland rivers. Roosevelt served as captain on her maiden voyage. The *New Orleans* reached her destination after a series of desperate

adventures, including surviving a severe earthquake at New Madrid, Missouri.¹

In 1807 Fulton successfully launched the *Clermont* and drove her up the Hudson River, a feat that ended any questions about the ability of steam to propel river boats. He had originally envisioned a chain of his steamboats on the rivers of the entire country. The political influence of his partner, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, in the state of New York, provided them with a monopoly on New York state rivers. Although many enterprising would-be steamboat builders had been experimenting with designs since at least 1787, and most thinking men of the age realized that the power of steam was the future source of labor-saving power, Fulton and Livingston were the first to take advantage of a successful design by obtaining a monopoly for the exclusive use of steam on the waters of New York State. This monopoly was not broken until 24 March 1824.²

From the founding of the United States and England's loss of influence among Indian allies west of the Alleghenies, settlers had been moving into lands bordering the great river system of the Mississippi basin. They depended for economic survival on being able to take their surplus agricultural products down river to the port of New Orleans, secured by the Louisiana purchase in 1803. The Ohio-Mississippi river system was the

Alfred Maass (Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, 1950) is a research biochemist whose naval experience (U.S.N.R.) consisted of two years as a torpedo and gunnery officer aboard a destroyer in the South Pacific in World War II. After he retired, he served as a volunteer at the Hagley Museum in Wilmington, Delaware, in a program on the history of technology, where he became interested in steam propulsion. He has researched the introduction of steamboats on inland waterways.

key to transportation for the settlements in the western territories until the railroads were built in the 1840s. Until 1812 it was essentially a one-way system. Agricultural products could be taken downstream by keel boat or flatboat, but the return upstream remained difficult and hazardous.

Based on their monopoly in New York, Fulton and Livingston used the voyage of the *New Orleans* to apply for exclusive rights to steam navigation to states and territories along the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers. If they had succeeded, the steamboat age on the Mississippi River system would have been long delayed, as would the development of the west after the War of 1812. Steamboats adapted to use on the relatively shallow waters of the western river systems with improved, high-pressure engines were the ideal way to counter the river currents and provide two-way transportation. The fight to maintain passage free from monopoly on the river system is an important landmark in western history.

Only in the Territory of Orleans (comprising the present state of Louisiana) was Fulton's offer to move freight by steam at three-fourths the then current cost and in three-fourths the time required by conventional boats found acceptable. Fulton and Livingston's petition was presented to the Legislature of Orleans Territory by Governor W. C. C. Claiborne, and in April 1811 the legislature passed an act granting to Fulton and Livingston "the sole and exclusive right and privilege to build, construct, make use, employ, and navigate boats, vessels, and other craft urged or propelled through the water by fire or steam, in all the creeks, rivers, bay, and waters whatsoever, within the jurisdiction of as the territory."³ By blocking access to New

The disputed waters of the Territory of Orleans or, as of 30 April 1812, the State of Louisiana. From Joan W. Gandy and Thomas H. Gandy, *The Mississippi Steamboat Era in Historic Photograph Natchez to New Orleans 1870-1920* (New York: Dover Publications, 1987). Courtesy of Dover Publications, Inc.



Orleans markets, the act essentially excluded steamboats other than Fulton's from the entire Mississippi-Ohio river system.

Upon arrival at New Orleans, Roosevelt reported to Governor Claiborne on the capabilities of the *New Orleans*. On 24 January 1812 Claiborne certified that she met the requirements of the Territorial Act: built on waters flowing through the Territory of Orleans and capable of moving in still water at the rate of four miles an hour.⁴ On the basis of the then current cost of transport of cotton at \$2.00 per bale, the proprietors, with their offer of three-fourths reduction, were entitled to charge \$1.50 per bale. On 23 January the *New Orleans* made her first run in the New Orleans-Natchez trade. She required about six days upstream to traverse the 313 miles to Natchez and three days back downstream to New Orleans.

Roosevelt had only a brief interval to enjoy the success and fame in bringing a steamboat to New Orleans. Fulton, exasperated by the second-hand accounts of "Mr. Roosevelt's steamboat" and the lack of financial accountability from Roosevelt, sent John Livingston, his wife Harriet's brother, to New Orleans with orders to take over supervision of the New Orleans-Natchez line.⁵

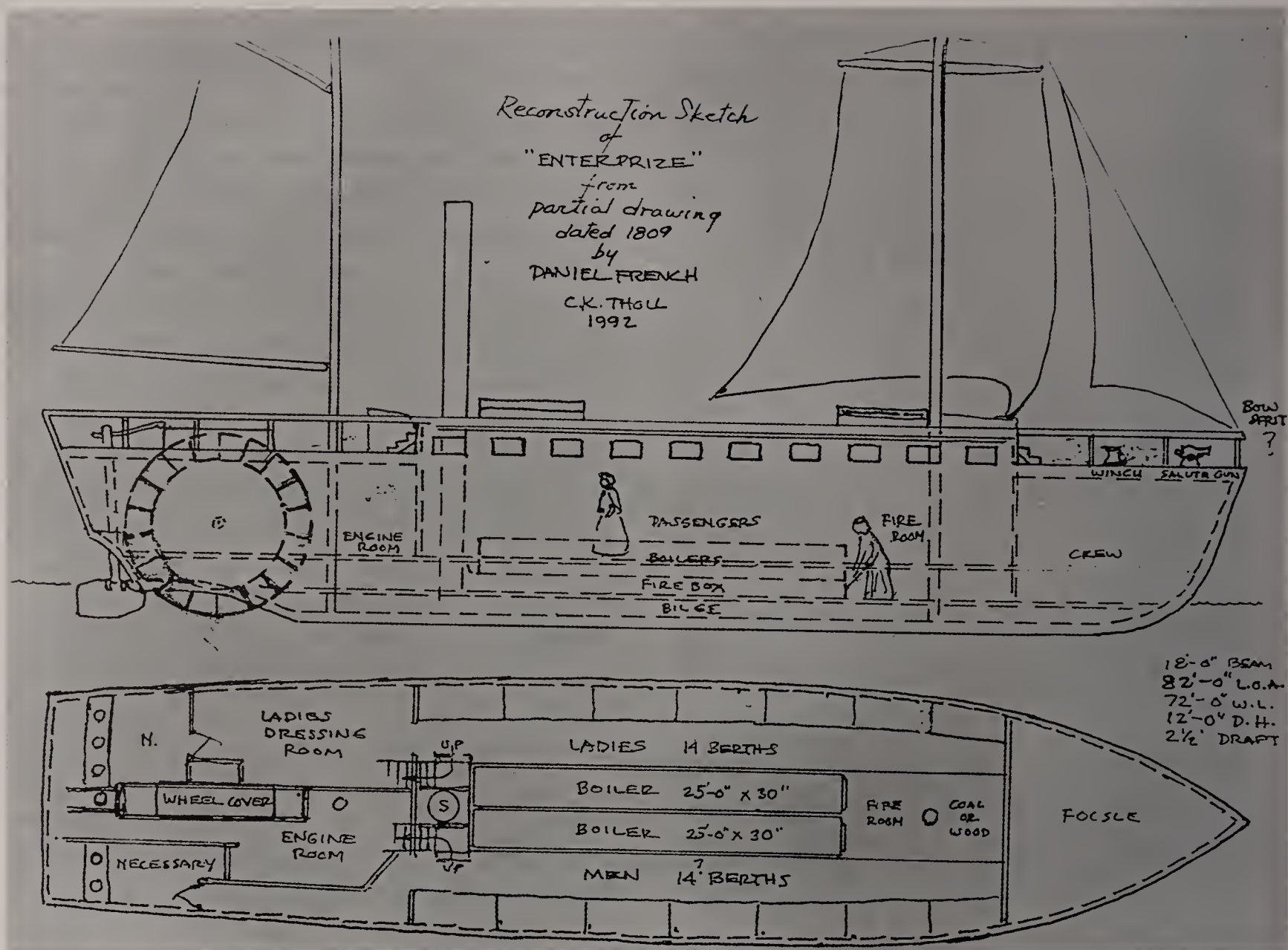
By making a round trip to Natchez every three weeks John Livingston expected to clear \$1,500 to \$2,000 every month. During the following year the Natchez trade proved to be so profitable that Fulton planned to expand the monopoly with two additional boats, one to run from New Orleans to Louisville and a second to run from New Orleans to St. Louis. Livingston was dispatched to Pittsburgh in 1813 to supervise their construction.⁶

The report of great profits was certain to stimulate competition. Daniel French, after successfully building a steam ferry on the Delaware River, moved to Bridgeport (Brownsville), Pennsylvania, in 1813 and established a steam engine shop. He soon engaged with Samuel Smith of Pittsburgh to build a keel boat modified with a

recessed stern paddle wheel, powered by his patented, oscillating, high-pressure engine with a highly efficient, direct connection between the piston and the paddle wheel crank. Named the *Comet*, she made a trip to Louisville in the summer of 1813. Despite the obvious differences between the diminutive, 18-ton *Comet* and their 400-ton side wheel boat powered by a vertical cylinder, low-pressure engine, Fulton and Livingston threatened a suit against French and the owners of the *Comet* in an effort to keep her off the river. Fulton was concerned that his steamboat patent (11 February 1809) protected him only from imitators. Thus his patent could not block a new and different steamboat from operating. Despite an announcement of the suit in the local newspaper, no record of the suit has been found.

The *Comet* sailed for New Orleans in the winter of 1813, arriving February 1814. She made several trips to Natchez from New Orleans, before being sold and her engine removed to power a cotton gin. Either her diminutive size did not represent competition or her demise occurred before the monopolists could act. Livingston was still in Pittsburgh supervising construction of the new steamboats; he returned to New Orleans on the new *Vesuvius* arriving only on 14 May 1814. Emboldened by even the minimal success of the *Comet*, Daniel French persuaded the citizens of Brownsville to form The Monongahela and Ohio Steam Boat Company, which promptly built the 70-ton steamboat *Enterprise* to French's plan.⁷

The year 1814 was a disaster for Fulton's western steamboat operation, presaged by the death of Robert R. Livingston in February 1813. The Chancellor's estate was in disorder. There was no record of an agreement with John Livingston for supervision of the Mississippi operation, and financial transactions between Livingston and Fulton were unrecorded. It was November before the lawyers mediated the disposal of Robert Livingston's share of the steamboat operations to Mrs. Livingston and Robert R.'s sons-in-law, Edward P. Livingston and Robert L. Livingston.



No authentic sketch of the *Enterprize* (1813–1816) as a recessed stern wheel steamboat exists. This depiction by Claire K. Tholl, Architectural Historian, is based upon descriptions between 1814 and 1816. Courtesy of Robert Tholl.

Mrs. Livingston's death in March of 1814, intestate, further exacerbated the quarrels over the steamboat operations between Edward P. and Robert L. and Fulton.⁸ In July the *New Orleans*, the mainstay of the Fulton-Livingston activity, sank at Clay's Landing two miles above Baton Rouge. The *Vesuvius* might have taken her place after her arrival in May, but instead departed in the middle of June for Louisville. She ran aground near the mouth of the Cumberland River and was not floated free until December. For the last half of 1814 New Orleans was without steamboat service.

The year 1814 was also a disastrous year for

the Federal Government. The war, started in 1812, was slowly escalating. The Royal Navy, with undisputed control of the seas, blockaded the Atlantic coast. In August British forces took possession of Washington and burned the city. Alexandria was looted and the British threatened Baltimore. Rumors circulated of an attack upon New Orleans. General Andrew Jackson, fighting the Creek Indians in Georgia, was ordered to defend New Orleans. The British delayed their attack on New Orleans until December 1814. In New Orleans Edward Livingston, taking advantage of his friendship with Jackson from their previous service together in Congress, arranged an

appointment for himself as Colonel and aide-de-camp along with his colleagues Abner L. Dean and John R. Grymes.⁹

These men were compatriots, friends, and business partners despite their ultimate appearance as legal antagonists. John Randolph Grymes, former Federal District Attorney at New Orleans, had resigned his position to defend Jean Lafitte. Abner L. Duncan, former territorial Attorney General in Natchez, was the business partner of merchant John K. West who supplied the Baratarians with gunpowder. They were all members of the New Orleans Association, headed by Edward Livingston, who supported the privateers sailing out of Barataria, preying on Spanish commerce and supporting Commodore Aury in Haiti and the Mexicans in their fight against Spain.¹⁰

The *Enterprize*, fresh from her successful trips to Louisville in the summer of 1814, steamed into the war's confusion at New Orleans. The *Enterprize*, commanded by Captain Henry M. Shreve, steamed away from Pittsburgh's Fayette Arsenal on 20–21 December 1814 loaded with ordnance supplies for Jackson's army at New Orleans. Shreve was an experienced navigator of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers from his annual keel boat trips to New Orleans since 1810, and he was selected to command this trip of the *Enterprize*. This was a perilous voyage, considering the low water of the winter, floating ice in the river, short daylight hours for travel, and the unknown future of the war. Treat expressed Shreve's double anxiety: "Not only was it his first in a steamboat, but it was connected with the glory of his country." The *Enterprize* crossed the falls of Ohio on 28 December and arrived at New Orleans on 9 January 1815, the day after the Battle of New Orleans. As New Orleans was under martial law since 16 December 1814, the *Enterprize* and Captain Shreve were "pressed" into service for Jackson's army.¹¹

Even before the rescinding of military rule in New Orleans on 13 March 1815, the *Enterprize* began making round trips between New Orleans

and Natchez. The small, light-weight *Enterprize*, with less draft and a greater power due to her high pressure engine, made the upstream trip to Natchez in about four days and the down stream in two. She was doing "a good business," making two trips to Natchez and back in the time the *Vesuvius* made one.

On 1 March Shreve announced the *Enterprize* would be making an ascent of the river to Louisville the first week of May. John Livingston had John R. Grymes, counsel for the Mississippi Steam Boat Navigation Co., institute a suit against the *Enterprize* for violating Fulton and Livingston's "exclusive privilege," stating that the *Enterprize* was loading in preparation to go to Louisville, thus escaping from the jurisdiction of the Louisiana courts. Even beyond the necessity of maintaining Fulton and Livingston's "exclusive privilege," there were reasons for this suit. With her rapid trips to Natchez, the *Enterprize* cut into the profits of the Steam Boat Navigation Company, and if she succeeded in her ascent of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, as seemed possible, she would gain in prestige as the first steamboat to make that trip, a voyage which the *Vesuvius* had already failed.¹²

Fulton died in New York on 23 February 1815. News of his death reached New Orleans only in mid-March, about the time that Jackson finally relinquished the power of martial law. The petition against Shreve and the *Enterprize* was submitted to the Federal Court on 1 May, with John Livingston identified as "provisional Curator of the estate of Robert Fulton, deceased." The petition cited as plaintiffs Robert L. Livingston and his wife Margaret, Edward P. Livingston and his wife Elizabeth, and requested the sum of \$5,000 and the forfeiture of the boat, steam engine, and all apparatus. The court ordered the seizure of the *Enterprize* and the arrests of Shreve and William Flower, agent for the *Enterprize* in New Orleans.

It is not known when Shreve retained Abner

L. Duncan as his lawyer, but the court action was certainly anticipated. On 2 May Duncan, with the consent of John R. Grymes for the plaintiffs, petitioned the court for an appraisal of the *Enterprize* and arranged for bail for Captain Shreve and William Flower. The *Enterprize* was appraised on 3 May at \$2,250, about twenty percent of her original cost. Released from jail, Captain Shreve completed loading the *Enterprize* and departed from New Orleans on 6 May.¹³

Shreve was to answer the petition of Livingston et al. within ten days. Due to the difficulty of communication between Brownsville and New Orleans, it was September before Duncan could arrange for a deposition from Daniel French. French claimed that his October 1809 patent for an improved steamboat engine, which powered the *Enterprize*, was a guarantee for the free and exclusive use of his invention in a boat on any of the waters of the United States. As principal owner of the *Enterprize*, he claimed for himself and for his associates, The Monongahela and Ohio Steam Boat Co., the protection of his patent.¹⁴

French's deposition was filed with the court on 3 January 1816, along with his original letters patent. On 22 January Abner Duncan claimed Shreve as a citizen of the United States who, as captain of the *Enterprize*, could not be deprived of the free use of the Mississippi River, a national highway. Duncan also argued that the monopoly had violated a provision of its charter by charging more than three-fourths of the cost of transporting freight. Thus, its monopoly was void.¹⁵

The situation in New Orleans was now further complicated by the arrival of the *Despatch*, the second steamboat owned by The Monongahela & Ohio Steam Boat Company, also built under Daniel French's 1809 patent. When she reached New Orleans on 13 February 1816, she was boarded by Edward Livingston.

Robert Rogers, the chief engineer on the *Despatch*, tells the story in his journal:

Soon after we landed at the levee Edward Livingston together with the Marshall of the District [Dupliese] with some others, came on board, and informed our captain that they [Livingston and Fulton] had the exclusive right to navigate the waters of Louisiana with steamboats, granted to them by the legislature of Louisiana and they did not allow their right infringed; but as we plead ignorance of the law, they agreed if we would leave the state with our boat and not return, they would not prosecute us. We then took in a little freight and a few passengers and started for Alexandria at the Rapids of the Red River.¹⁶

Departing 2 March, Captain Bruce and the *Despatch* returned to Louisville, arriving 4 April. The newspapers quickly took up their account of "Obstruction of Steam Navigation." The *Enterprize* also returned to New Orleans on 27 February and entered into the Natchez trade. There is no account of obstruction of the *Enterprize*, perhaps because of the continuing court case.

While Edward Livingston was physically obstructing the loading of the *Despatch*, Duncan was in First District Federal Court arguing yet again against the monopolists. Duncan provided a list of the owners of the *Enterprize* and share holders of The Monongahela & Ohio Steam Boat Co. Then Duncan made his most telling argument against the monopoly. He claimed that under the Constitution only Congress had the power to regulate interstate commerce. Thus, the monopoly of Fulton and Livingston was unconstitutional.¹⁷

Court testimony by various witnesses argued the case of freight charges, including the claim of Captain Gale of the *New Orleans* that the shippers had increased the size and weight of the cotton bales. This was justification for the failure of the monopolists to keep the freight rate at three-fourths that of the regular shippers.¹⁸

On 4 May a report was filed by a Committee

appointed by Governor Claiborne that the *Vesuvius* met the conditions of the monopoly act because she was now operating on the New Orleans-Natchez run in the absence of any other Fulton boat to carry on trade.¹⁹

The court reached its conclusion and announced a verdict on 20 May. Judge Domminic A. Hall stated that the Territorial Legislature had exceeded its authority in granting the monopoly to Fulton and Livingston. Grymes promptly appealed the verdict. The appeal was granted by District Court Judge Joshua Lewis on 23 May 1816. Whether the appeal was subsequently dropped is not known, but no change of verdict on appeal has been found.²⁰

The announcement of the court was widely distributed in the newspapers along the Ohio River. In August 1816 the Steubenville newspaper *Western Herald* trumpeted:

We expect, now, since Livingston's specious ridiculous patent for navigating the Mississippi is annulled, that our rivers will present such a scene of enterprise in general use of steamboats.²¹

Shreve, in returning to Brownsville in July 1815, did not support the efforts of his partners in The Monongahela & Ohio Steam Boat Co. to build a larger steamboat to complete its planned line of boats from Brownsville to New Orleans. Instead, with the aid of two investors from Brownsville and two from Wheeling, he arranged to have built a 400-ton steamboat, to be called the *Washington*, with a design draft of four feet nine inches at Wheeling, a deepwater port. Based on the superiority of French's high-pressure, direct connected engines, Shreve arranged with French to construct the engine at Bridgeport.²²

The keel of the *Washington* was laid in September 1815, the hull completed by the spring of 1816. With the engine installed and successful builder's trials in May, the *Washington*, commanded by Shreve, departed for New Orleans in June.

Delayed in reaching New Orleans, needing to repair a boiler which exploded off Marietta and then a grounding on Charleston bar above Cincinnati, it was 7 November before the *Washington* reached New Orleans.

The steamboat *Pike*, of about 30 tons burthen, was built at Pittsburgh in 1815 originally as a keel boat with running boards on either side of the cabin. In 1816, David Prentice of Henderson, Kentucky, constructed a low-pressure walking beam engine and in partnership with John James Audubon converted the *Pike* to a side wheel steamboat. She made a maiden voyage up the Ohio to Louisville and Pittsburgh in the spring of 1816. In the fall of 1816 Benjamin Booth took the *Pike* to New Orleans, arriving in early October just ahead of the *Washington*.

Both the *Pike* and the *Washington* were prosecuted by Livingston in a suit in the United States District Court. Details of the suit are not known, but these steamboats were allowed to leave the jurisdiction of the court, presumably after providing bail.

The *Washington* departed from New Orleans on 24 October to return to Shippingport at the foot of the falls of the Ohio, below Louisville. Due to the necessity of making repairs to her machinery, delayed forty-three days at the Arkansas River, she had just reached the mouth of the White River by December. It was not until 4 January 1817 that the *Washington* reached Shippingport.

Despite the development of this additional interference in navigation, in the fall and winter of 1816 a number of steamboats were loaded with local produce: apples, flour, whiskey, and cider, in preparation for their sale in New Orleans.

The *Despatch* was the first to depart that fall. Leaving Brownsville, the *Despatch* arrived in New Orleans on 4 December 1816. She promptly engaged in the Red River trade, making three trips to the rapids at Alexandria. In late March she departed from New Orleans for Louisville, arriv-

ing in May. Despite Captain Bruce's previous encounter with Edward Livingston on 13 February 1816, when the *Despatch* was forced to leave New Orleans without a cargo, no evidence was found that any of her other voyages were interfered with by the monopolists.

Three steamboats were completed in Pittsburgh in the fall of 1816 for the New Orleans trade: the *Franklin*, 131 tons; the *Oliver Evans*, 75 tons; and the *Harriet*, 40 tons. The *Franklin* was built by George Shiras and John Cromwell and launched from their shipyard at The Point in April 1816. The *Franklin* departed Pittsburgh in December, commanded by John Cromwell. Leaving Louisville 12 January she arrived in New Orleans on 7 February 1817. She promptly entered the New Orleans-Natchez trade, making a round trip in February and two trips in March.

The *Oliver Evans*, begun in 1812, was not finished until 1816 due to financial difficulties. Constructed by George Evans, the boat had a high-pressure engine, built after Oliver Evans's patent. She was sold in Pittsburgh to Captain William Bezeau of Cincinnati and some Pittsburgh merchants, who renamed her *Constitution*. She left Pittsburgh on 30 December, arrived in New Orleans on 9 February 1817 and also entered the Natchez trade.

The *Washington* did not depart Shippingport that spring until 3 March. She arrived in New Orleans on 12 March. The New Orleans newspaper was proudly able to state that there were four steamboats at the levee.

Shortly after the *Washington's* arrival, the Natchez Steam Boat Navigation Co. served Captain Shreve with a complaint. After the deaths of Fulton, Livingston, and his wife, their heirs took up the fight to maintain this valuable monopoly. John R. Grymes, principal counsel for the company, acting in New York for Edward P. Livingston and Robert L. Livingston as heirs of

Robert R. Livingston and his wife, and for Cornelia and Robert only children of Fulton as heirs for Robert Fulton filed suit in New Orleans against Captain Shreve and the *Washington*. Jasper Lynch, curator ad litem, pressed the charge against Shreve in New Orleans First District Federal Court, demanding \$10,000 and court costs for violations on the occasion of 7 October 1816 and 17 March 1817. Lynch warned the court that Shreve and the *Washington* were preparing to depart from the jurisdiction of the court. Captain Shreve was arrested on 22 March and held for bail. Abner Dean arranged for "common" bail, and Captain Shreve, being released, departed New Orleans on 25 March for Louisville. Shreve's ascent of the rivers to reach Louisville in the remarkable time of twenty-four days was highly publicized as final proof of the ability of the steamboat to stem the currents of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers.²³

This was not the end of the efforts of Lynch to end competition on the Mississippi. On 10 April a petition was filed against Captain Cromwell and the owners of the *Franklin* demanding a \$10,000 fine for this violation of the "exclusive privilege." Judge Hall ordered the defendants be held for bail.²⁴

On 19 April Lynch again filed a petition in First District Federal court against Captain Bezeau and the *Oliver Evans*, demanding \$5,000 fine and the forfeiture of the steamboat, engine, and all her machinery. This added Captain Bezeau and the *Oliver Evans* to the number of defendants.²⁵

The complaint against the *Washington* and Captain Shreve; against the *Oliver Evans* and Captain Bezeau; and against the *Franklin* and Captain Cromwell and owners George Shiras and Andrew Jack gives prominence to the residence of the plaintiffs as citizens of New York, and the defendants: Shreve as a citizen of Kentucky; Bezeau as a citizen of Ohio; Cromwell and Shiras as citizens of Ohio and Andrew Jack as a citizen of Kentucky. On 21 April Judge Dominic C. Hall, for the United State First District Court of

Louisiana, declared that the court did not have jurisdiction and dismissed the suits. The verdict was not explained. It appears that Judge Hall based his decision on the grounds of non-residency.

Captain Cromwell promptly sold the *Franklin* in New Orleans to John Nelson. Whether this sale was forced upon Captain Cromwell due to the suit and the necessity of raising bail is not documented. The *Franklin* entered into the New Orleans-Louisville trade; departing New Orleans in May she arrived at Shippingport on 7 June.

This was not quite the end of the actions of the monopolists. The *Oliver Evans* continued in the Natchez trade. She was at Natchez when she fell in with the *Washington* returning to New Orleans from Shippingport. According to accounts, the *Oliver Evans* was racing against the *Washington* when the *Oliver Evans's* boiler exploded. There was considerable loss of life of passengers and crew. She was towed back to New Orleans, rebuilt, and ultimately sold. She then reentered into the Natchez trade and was again the butt of a court action in 1818 by Livingston. No information has been located on this suit. This appears to be the final attempt by Livingston, *et al.*, to control navigation on the Mississippi. With the resolution of these cases, efforts of the plaintiffs to enforce Livingston and Fulton's "exclusive privilege" became untenable. Lynch then purchased the *New Orleans II* and the *Vesuvius* and transferred them to the Natchez Steam Boat Company.

Whom then do we credit with the destruction of the Livingston and Fulton monopoly? The introduction and utilization of high pressure steam engines in the steamboats of George Evans and Daniel French, along with French's highly efficient direct connection of the engine piston to the paddlewheel, markedly improved the utility of steamboats especially compared to those of Fulton. While this increased utility may have increased the number of incursions into the privileged waters of Louisiana, there were also incursions by low-pressure engine steamboats imitative of Fulton. Technology had little to do with the destruction of the monopoly. Many captains tempted by high profits were not inhibited by the monopolists in bringing their steamboats to New Orleans. While captains Bezeau, Booth, Cromwell, and Shreve suffered from being jailed, raising bail, and possibly even losing their boats, these actions also did not directly contribute to the destruction of the Livingston and Fulton monopoly. Judge Hall may not have responded to the learned and eloquent arguments of Abner Dean to reach the overarching conclusion of the unconstitutionality of the Livingston and Fulton monopoly developed by Chief Justice Marshall on the New York monopoly six years later, but it required these arguments and the understanding of Judge Hall to cause the destruction of this monopoly. Thus, the way was opened for the development of the steamboat era on the western rivers.

NOTES

1. John H. B. Latrobe, *The First Steamboat Voyage on the Western Waters* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, Fund Publication No. 8, 1871); Carl Bogardus, *The First Steamboat Voyage on the Western Waters* (Austin, Indiana: The Muscatatuck Press, 1961); Stirling North, *The First Steamboat Voyage on the Mississippi* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962); Mary Helen Dohan, *Mr. Roosevelt's Steamboat* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1981).
2. David Whittet Thomson, "The Great Steamboat Monopolies Part II: The Hudson," *American Neptune* 16:3 (1956): 279.
3. William J. Petersen, *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi* (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1937), 44 quotes a letter from Robert Fulton and Robert R. Livingston to the governor of Upper Mississippi Territory, dated 20 August 1810, and Chapter 26 of the 2nd Session, 3rd Legislature of the Territory of Orleans, 19 April 1811, 112; cited by J. Fair Hardin, "The First Great River Captain, A Sketch of the Career of Captain Henry Miller Shreve," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 10 (1935): 32.
4. New Orleans, *Louisiana Gazette and Mercantile Advertiser*, 18 January 1812; Report of Commissioners appointed by Governor Claiborne whether the steamboat New Orleans met the conditions of the Act. Mississippi Set, Le Boeuf Collection, New York Historical Society.
5. Cynthia Owen Philip, *Robert Fulton, A Biography* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1985), 280–281. Accounts of the legal battle for free navigation on the Mississippi River are depicted as a battle between Edward Livingston and Captain Shreve. Edward Livingston (1764–1836), the youngest brother of Chancellor R. R. Livingston, trained as a lawyer and served in Congress, 1794–1800. Appointed United States Attorney for the District of New York, he simultaneously served as mayor. During his administration an associate absconded with considerable funds. Edward resigned, turned over his property as repayment, and in December 1803 emigrated to New Orleans, determined to recoup his fortune and pay his many debts. Edward was a director and major stockholder in the Mississippi Steam Boat Navigation Co. New Orleans, *Louisiana Gazette & Mercantile Advertiser*, 8 September 1812. Fulton counted on Edward to look after the Fulton Steamboat interests in New Orleans. John Livingston, however, filed the suits against the opposition steamboats.
6. In 1812 Fulton and Livingston organized two steamboat companies: the state of Indiana chartered Ohio Steam Boat Navigation Co. for the Ohio River, Cincinnati, *Liberty Hall*, 20 November 1811; and the unincorporated Mississippi Steam Boat Navigation Co. for the Mississippi River, New Orleans. *Louisiana Gazette & Mercantile Advertiser*, 1 June 1812. The Ohio Steam Boat Navigation Co., for which Benjamin Henry Latrobe was acting as agent began building two steamboats in 1814–1815 in Pittsburgh: the *Buffalo* and the *Harriet*. Before these two boats were completed, they were sold at sheriff's sale to satisfy the company's debts. These steamboats were subsequently completed by other parties.
7. Alfred R. Maass, "Daniel French and the

- Western Steamboat Engine," *American Neptune* 56:1 (Winter, 1996): 29–44.
8. The two Robert R. Livingston daughters, Margaret and Elizabeth, had married Livingston cousins.
 9. Vincent Nolte, *The Memoirs of Vincent Nolte* (Translated from the German) (New York: G. Howard Watt, 1934), 204, 208, 224.
 10. Charles B. Brooks, *The Siege of New Orleans* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961), 22; Jane Lucas de Grummond, *The Baratarians and the Battle for New Orleans* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961), 23.
 11. Maj. A. Edwards to Secretary Monroe, 11 February 1815, National Archives DNA-RG 167; Alfred R. Maass, "Brownsville's Steamboat Enterprize and Pittsburgh's Supply of General Jackson's Army," *Pittsburgh History* 77 (Spring, 1994): 22–29; and Samuel Treat, "Political Portraits with Pen and Pencil: Henry Miller Shreve," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 22 (February and March, 1848): 166.
 12. Petition of John Livingston 1 May 1815, Calendar of the Mississippi Set, Le Boeuf Collection, New York Historical Society. This handwritten petition recounts the history of the granting of the "exclusive privilege" to Fulton and Livingston and demands the sum of \$5,000 for each and every incursion into Louisiana's waters and the forfeit of the boat, steam engine, and all apparatus.
 13. Petition of John Livingston 1 May and 3 May 1815, Calendar of the Mississippi Set, Le Boeuf Collection, New York Historical Society and Louisville, Kentucky *Western Courier*, 1 June 1815.
 14. 4 September 1815, Calendar of the Mississippi Set, Le Boeuf Collection, New York Historical Society.
 15. A. L. Duncan, c. 1816, Calendar of the Mississippi Set, Le Boeuf Collection, New York Historical Society. While Shreve is identified as "Agent" of the Monongahela & Ohio Steam Boat Co., he was only one of twenty-four shareholders having contributed \$500 to the construction of the Enterprize.
 16. Robert Rogers' *Memoranda*, typescript prepared by James S. Rogers from the original handwritten copy of Robert Rogers; in the possession of Dr. Jonathan J. Rogers, Philadelphia.
 17. A. L. Duncan for Respondents 14 February 1816, Calendar of the Mississippi Set, Le Boeuf Collection, New York Historical Society.
 18. Captain Gale, 4 May 1816, *ibid.*
 19. William C. C. Claiborne, 4 May 1816, *ibid.*
 20. Petition of J. R. Grymes, 23 May 1816, Appeal of the verdict of 20 May 1816, *ibid.*
 21. Louisville, *Western Courier*, 13 June 1816; Cincinnati, *Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Gazette*, 24 June 1816; Steubenville, Ohio, *Western Herald*, 28 June 1816.
 22. *Steubenville Western Herald*, 10 November 1815.
 23. J. Fair Hardin, "An Outline of Shreveport and Caddo Parish History," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 18 (October 1935): 64–71. Hardin quotes the original petition, "Heirs of Fulton and Livingston versus Henry M. Shreve," Number 1003 filed 22 March 1817.
 24. Heirs of Fulton and Livingston versus George Shiras *et al.*, Number 1013, filed 10 April 1817: Mississippi Set, Le Boeuf Collection, New York Historical Society.
 25. Heirs of Fulton and Livingston versus William Bezeau, Somdal Collection, Box 9, Folder #351, Louisiana State University Library Archives.

Regatta Press Limited

✎ Exclusive offer for *American Neptune* readers ✎



Robert Blake, Admiral and General at Sea

NEW!

by Hepworth Dixon

with new Introduction by
Barry M. Gough

This is the biography of the renowned admiral and general, Robert Blake, and in it the naval history of England during the 17th century—one of its most dramatic and turbulent periods. Having been painstakingly researched from official British-state and Blake-family papers and written by one of England's foremost writers of the 19th century, *Robert Blake* remains an important volume today. This definitive work is reproduced here in the first-ever facsimile of this rare edition. The volume has been further enhanced by the addition of an index.

Only **\$56.00** (regular price of \$69.95)

ISBN: 0-9674826-1-5 392 pages

Also available at a special price:

Sailing Alone Around the World, by Captain Joshua Slocum

The most detailed and celebrated autobiographical account of a solo circumnavigation of the globe in the age of sail. First published in 1900, this is the only facsimile reproduction to date, which faithfully reproduces the original text, art, and striking cover.

Special Price of **\$39.00** (regular price of \$64.95) ISBN: 0-9674826-0-7 312 pages

Regatta Press Limited

PO Box 6525; Ithaca, NY 14851 USA

Ph: 607-277-2211 Fax: 800-688-2877 or 607-277-6292

<http://www.RegattaPress.com>

Orders may be placed by phone, fax, mail or e-mail. **Please reference code: BAN02.**

Visa, MasterCard, American Express, & Discover are accepted (please provide full card details). Or mail a check in US\$ drawn on a US bank. **U.S. & Canadian orders:** please include shipping charges of \$3.50 for one book plus \$0.75 for each additional book. New York State residents please add 8% sales tax. Canadian residents add 7% GST. **Foreign orders:** please include shipping charges of \$5.00 for one book, \$1.50 for each additional book. **All orders must be prepaid.**

FIRST TO CROSS:

THE S.S. *MONUMENTAL CITY*

by Fred Hopkins

On 12 February 1851 Edward H. Hargraves and his guide John Lister discovered gold 170 miles west of Sydney, New South Wales, Australia. By the summer of 1852 over fifty thousand miners were digging in the Ophir gold fields. Prospectors who were unsuccessful in California sought passage across the Pacific. Melbourne's Port Sydney Bay, like San Francisco a few years earlier, soon became a graveyard of abandoned vessels. Prospectors in California clamored for any available transportation to the Australian diggings.¹

Laid-up on the San Francisco waterfront was the 737-ton, screw driven *Monumental City*. Seeing an opportunity to engage *Monumental City* in a profitable endeavor, part owner Peter Stroebel bought out his partners and advertised for passengers to the Australian gold fields. *Monumental City* departed San Francisco on 17 February 1853 and reached Sidney on 23 April, becoming the first American steamship to cross the Pacific; she had been preceded fourteen months earlier by the British registered S.S. *Conside*.²

In early 1850 a group of investors—Allan A. Chapman, Robert Kirkland, Isaac Norris, and Peter Stroebel—had contracted with Murray and

Hazelhurst of Baltimore to construct a wooden-hulled, bark-rigged, and screw-driven vessel for eventual use in the Hawaiian sugar trade. Murray and Hazelhurst would construct both the hull and the machinery. Launching occurred in early November 1850.³ The 19 November 1850 edition of the New York *Herald* proclaimed that *Monumental City* was filled with much elegance and abounded in conveniences. Her first and second class accommodations were for about 250 passengers. During her sea trials on 14 November 1850, *Monumental City* recorded a speed of twelve knots.⁴ The first notice of her proposed departure for San Francisco appeared in the Baltimore newspapers on 7 November 1850. She finally cleared the harbor on 17 December, with Isaac Norris as captain and Peter Stroebel as agent.⁵

After a journey of 205 days *Monumental City* arrived in San Francisco on 10 July 1851. Only eighty-seven days of this period, however, were spent at sea. Machinery malfunctions and bad weather account for the remainder. Only three days out of Baltimore, *Monumental City's* steering gear broke down and she put into Bermuda for repairs, remaining there until 12 January 1851.⁶

In the 1830s Ladd and Co. domesticated the wild sugarcane that grew on Kauai, Hawaii. By the 1850s an acre in Hawaii was producing six times more sugar than an acre in the Mississippi

Fred Hopkins is Professor Emeritus of History in the history department at the University of Baltimore.

delta. In 1851 David Weston's centrifugal machine reduced the separation and refining of molasses from raw sugar from weeks to hours. The owners of *Monumental City* planned to transport Hawaiian sugar and molasses from the islands to San Francisco. By the time *Monumental City* had reached San Francisco, however, Southern congressmen from Mississippi and Louisiana had managed to block attempts to lower the United States' high tariffs on sugar. The sugar trade with Hawaii would languish until the outbreak of the Civil War.⁷

Monumental City was now in San Francisco with no prospects in the sugar trade. The Gold Rush, however, had brought about the founding of several steamship lines which carried miners, gold, and supplies from the East Coast of the United States to California by way of the Isthmus of Panama or the Isthmus of Nicaragua. Steamers departed the East Coast and docked at either Chagres, Panama, or San Juan de Nicaragua. Passengers then traveled by foot, canoe, mule, or later by train to Panama City or San Juan del Sur, Nicaragua, on the Pacific coast to await transportation north to California. The major steamship lines operated regular service along the Pacific coast with large, fast side-wheel vessels. Often mechanical problems or the hoards of prospective miners caused scheduling problems. In order to meet the demands of their schedules, the major steamship companies often hired independent steamships to fill out the schedules. *Monumental City* became one of these substitutes classified as "irregulars."

In her role as an irregular, *Monumental City* became part of the fastest means of travel between the Atlantic ports and California. From 1848 until the completion of the transcontinental railway in 1869 the quickest way to and from California for both travelers and gold was by way of Panama or Nicaragua. With completion of the trans-isthmus railroad in 1855 it was possible to travel from New York to San Francisco in approximately three weeks. Wagon trains crossing the United States



Artist's impression of S.S. *Monumental City*.
Courtesy of Mark Staniforth, *Monumental City*.

were subject to snow, flooded rivers, and hostile Indians; the average time via clipper ship around Cape Horn took four months or more. Between the years of 1848 and 1869, 479, 774 passengers journeyed to San Francisco from New York alone via the two Central American routes while 295,698 chose to return the same way. These same years saw \$757,068,800 in gold shipped from San Francisco to the East Coast ports of the United States via these same routes. The cost to reach San Francisco from New York, depending on the cabin class, ranged from \$380 to \$200 in 1849 to \$225 to \$75 by 1854.⁸

Monumental City's first charter as an irregular was to the Empire City Line leaving San Francisco on 18 November 1851 for San Juan del Sur under the command of Captain Isaac Norris. Arriving at San Juan del Sur, *Monumental City* embarked three hundred passengers for the return trip (her capacity was 250 passengers). The return trip took forty-two days, including stops at Acapulco, Mexico, and San Diego, California. The regular larger side-wheel steamers generally made the same voyage in eighteen to twenty-one days. *Monumental City's* passengers complained that it was a very long and unpleasant voyage.⁹

It was not just at sea that the ship was having

difficulties. On 13 December 1851 William Robertson of San Francisco libeled the steamer and its owners for non-payment of a \$2,248 bill for general repair work done on *Monumental City*. The case was heard in the District Court of the United States for the Northern District of California by Judge Ogden Hoffman, Jr. in January 1852. The case was dismissed by Judge Hoffman when Peter Stroebel, representing the owners, agreed to pay the \$2,248 charge stating that he had been willing to make payment all along and that Mr. Robertson had been a little too quick in filing the libel against the steamship.¹⁰

With her legal troubles behind her, *Monumental City*, now under the command of Captain Walter K. Cressey, was again chartered by the Empire City Line for a run from San Juan del Sur to San Francisco. *Monumental City* departed San Juan del Sur on 18 January 1852 with 307 passengers, with intermediate stops at El Realejo, Nicaragua, and Acapulco, Mexico. On 12 February 1862 she put into Mazatlan, Mexico, in order to repair her engines. She then sailed for San Diego, California, arriving on 28 February, where an additional forty-five passengers were embarked. After a forty-five-day voyage, *Monumental City* finally reached San Francisco on 4 March 1852. Two deaths had occurred during the trip. Frederick Schartzler was reported to have died of congestion of the brain at sea, and Isaac Gordon died during the lay-over at Mazatlan.¹¹

Probably because of her official low passenger capacity of 250, Peter Stroebel had *Monumental City* re-surveyed in March 1852. This new survey, conducted by W. W. Queen, Inspector and Measurer of Vessels for the Port of San Francisco, now rated *Monumental City* for 317 passengers—250 men, forty-five women, and twenty-two children.¹²

Monumental City made her third and final voyage as an irregular with Captain Cressey in command for the Vanderbilt Line from San Juan del Sur to San Francisco in the spring of 1852. Crammed with five hundred passengers, the little

steamer left Nicaragua on 2 April, arriving at Acapulco on 28 April. The crowded conditions appear to have been one of the prime causes for the fourteen deaths that occurred during the run to Acapulco and during the lay-over in that port. The causes for the deaths of the passengers were listed as fever, dysentery, and diarrhea. After forty-five miserable days *Monumental City* finally reached San Francisco on 17 May.¹³ Despite the terrible conditions, eight steerage passengers did publish a letter of commendation in a San Francisco newspaper regarding the efforts of steerage steward H. F. Curtis to alleviate the trying conditions aboard ship.¹⁴

Perhaps as a result of her poor record on her runs to San Juan del Sur, *Monumental City* did not receive another charter from any of the steamship lines plying the Pacific Coast. It was at this time that news of the Australian gold fields reached the California diggings. Miners who had not struck it rich began looking for ways to reach the new fields across the Pacific. On 2 February 1853 an advertisement appeared in the San Francisco newspaper *Daily Alta California* announcing that *Monumental City* would sail for Sydney and Melbourne. The same newspaper later announced that Peter Stroebel was now the sole owner of *Monumental City* and would sail on her as agent. The steamer was to be under the command of Captain W. H. Adams.

On 17 February 1853 *Monumental City* left San Francisco with officers and crew numbering thirty-three, twelve cabin passengers, including one woman, and 128 steerage passengers, including two women. *Monumental City* became the first American steamship to cross the Pacific with a sixty-five day passage from San Francisco to Port Jackson, Sydney, with stops at Tahiti and Tongataboo.¹⁵

After her arrival at Port Jackson on 23 April 1853 Peter Stroebel decided to enter *Monumental City* in the inter-colonial trade ferrying gold seek-

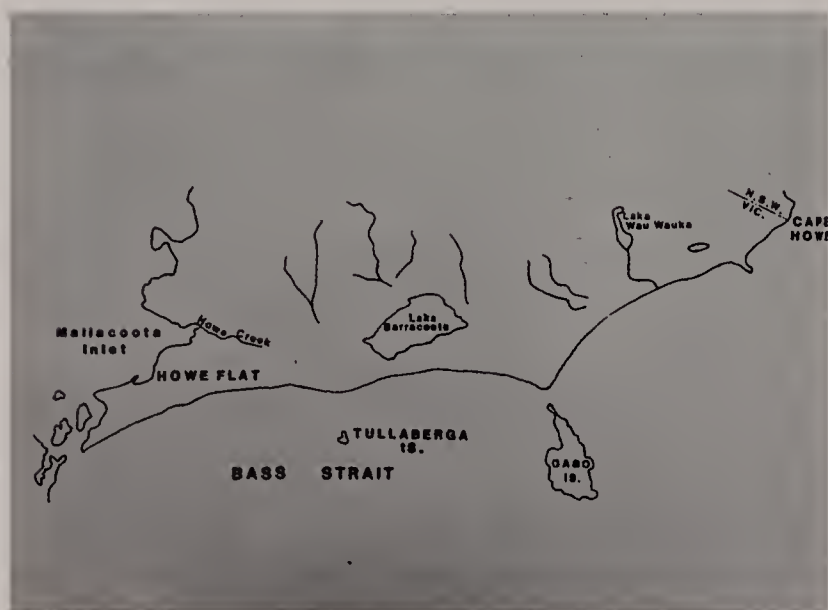
ers between Sydney and Melbourne. Still under the command of her American captain, William H. Adams, *Monumental City* departed Sydney on 5 May with 166 passengers, and arrived at Port Phillip, Melbourne, five days later. On Friday, 13 May, still commanded by Captain Adams and with her owner Peter Stroebel on board, *Monumental City* left Melbourne with a crew of forty-five and an undetermined number of passengers. By 8 P.M. on Saturday, 14 May, she was south of Point Hicks on the East Coast of Victoria. Since he was not familiar with the coastal waters of Victoria and New South Wales, Captain Adams had several discussions that evening with a local mariner, a Captain Whyte. After seeing to the change of the watch at midnight, Adams retired to his cabin.

On 15 May, at 3:45 A.M., *Monumental City* without warning ran aground on a ledge off Tullaberga Island to the east of Mallacoota, Victoria. Efforts to back off the ledge were unsuccessful. Since the weather was calm, the decision was made to wait until dawn to attempt to land the passengers on Tullaberga. While the passengers and crew waited for sunrise, the wind changed, causing *Monumental City* to beat against

the ledge. After cutting away the foremast, the crew lowered the boats in order to remove the passengers. For reasons that are still unclear, the passengers, especially the women, did not enter the boats, which were eventually swamped. Adams would later claim that the women refused to enter the boats because the seas were too rough. Adams then decided to send a seaman ashore in one of the remaining lifeboats with a line in order to establish a way of getting the passengers and crew ashore. After several unsuccessful attempts the connection was established, but it required the passengers and crew to climb hand over hand from the ship to reach the island. Most of the passengers, especially the women, refused to leave the ship. Of the passengers who did attempt to escape via the line, several were washed off and drowned. Most of the crew, however, used the line to reach the island safely. By noon the *Monumental City* was breaking up. Adams decided to leave his command and reached the shore safely.

Although the exact number of passengers is in question, it appears that thirty-seven people perished, of whom thirty-four were passengers. Of the fifty-four survivors, forty-two were crew members and twelve were passengers. After a two day stay on Tullaberga Island, nineteen of the survivors reached the mainland at Twofold Bay, Victoria, in a lifeboat that had drifted ashore on the island. By 20 May the remaining survivors reached Twofold Bay on a raft built from pieces of the wreck. As soon as word reached Melbourne and Sydney concerning the sinking of *Monumental City*, relief funds were set up by prominent public officials and businessmen. The local newspapers called for an official inquiry and demanded action be taken against Adams and his crew.

As a result of the sinking of *Monumental City*, two events took place. Within months a lighthouse was established on Gabo Island, a large island near the Tullaberga reef. The second event was finalized several years later with a major addition to British colonial coastal maritime law.¹⁶



Map of Mallacoota region showing Tullaberga and Gabo Islands. Courtesy of Mark Staniforth, *Monumental City*.

As a result of the public demand for an investigation of the *Monumental City* sinking, the American consul in New South Wales, J. H. Williams sought to have an official review of the disaster conducted by the New South Wales Steam Navigation Board.¹⁷ Captain Adams himself published a letter in a local newspaper requesting an investigation.¹⁸ Upon receipt of these requests, the Board Chairman, Captain H. H. Browne, wrote the Colonial Secretary to ascertain if it were proper for the Steam Navigation Board to conduct an inquiry.¹⁹ The question was then passed on by the Colonial Secretary to the Crown Legal Officer. The decision was that under the regulations of the New Navigation Acts, New South Wales had no jurisdiction in the matter since the sinking occurred in the waters of Victoria and *Monumental City* was a vessel owned and commanded by citizens of a foreign state. Permission was granted, however, for conducting an unofficial and informal inquiry.²⁰

The informal hearing was conducted by the New South Wales Steam Navigation Board in Sydney from 8–10 June 1853, with the full report published on 5 July. The Board announced that since this was an unofficial investigation, it did not have the power to subpoena witnesses and would therefore advertise in area newspapers for all interested parties to come forth. The hearings were to be open to the press and the general public with Adams in attendance. Over the three days of testimony, the Board heard from sixteen witnesses—fourteen crewmen, including Adams and the first and second officers, and two passengers. The final report of the New South Wales Steam Navigation Board summarized the events leading up to the disaster and then proceeded to place considerable blame on Captain Adams for his management of *Monumental City* prior to the wreck. The Board, however, chose to acquit the captain of any want or firmness of decision in the arrangements, which were made in attempting to save the passengers and crew. Concerning Chief Officer Edward Van Syce, who was the officer of



Map of Victoria showing Mallacoota. Courtesy of Mark Staniforth, *Monumental City*.

the deck at the time of the grounding, the Board was highly critical and expressed regret at not having the power to punish him.²¹

On 11 July 1853 the legislature of New South Wales forwarded a copy of the *Monumental City* hearing to the Crown law officers in order that some means could be found to bring foreign vessels in the coastal trade under the jurisdiction of the individual Australian colonies.²² On 21 July the Attorney General and the Solicitor General in Sydney forwarded to the Colonial Secretary a twenty-three page opinion outlining the problems with bringing foreign vessels under a specific colony's maritime law and then proposing ways of solving these problems.

The original request by the New South Wales Steam Navigation board was that they be empowered to investigate officially the *Monumental City* disaster. The Board was informed that they did not have the authority to conduct an official investigation. The Crown's attorney general pointed out that the Navigation Laws were repealed in 1849. Almost immediately new navigation laws were passed which included the Passenger Act of 1849. This law subjected all vessels, both British and foreign, carrying passengers and goods between British ports, to British

regulations. The attorney general indicated that the Passenger Act of 1849 gave the power of enforcing the law to the Crown and not to individual colonial or provincial governments. Thus, New South Wales was denied both the authority to try the *Monumental City* incident and the authority to pass local legislation giving themselves the authority in future circumstances. The New South Wales legislature had passed an act in 1852 governing colonial British vessels, and the attorney general suggested that this law could be applied to foreign vessels if the colony appealed to the Crown to repeal the section of the Passenger Act of 1849, which reserved this power for the Crown.²³ New South Wales would adopt this suggestion, and in 1853 the act was made applicable to foreign vessels in the colonial passenger trade.²⁴

The Crown attorney general further commented that the Australian colonies might wish to request the Crown put inter-colonial trade on a coastal trade basis as was the situation in India, thus limiting inter-colonial trade to British vessels. Australia, for the purposes of coastal trade, would be recognized as one colony with the actual colonies as mere provinces.²⁵ Australia would not become a commonwealth until 1901. The idea of "one" colony was rejected in 1853 because the various legislatures considered foreign vessels necessary for inter-colonial trade and communication.²⁶ The *Monumental City* episode established the precedent of transferring the authority to regulate foreign vessels from the Crown to local colonial legislatures.

The tragic tale of *Monumental City* did not end with the unofficial investigation and the amendments to the Passenger Act of 1849. On 12 September 1853 the government of Victoria received a report that thirty-three bodies from the wreck were lying exposed on the shore of Tullaberga Island. A Customs Office whaleboat was dispatched to verify the report and do what was necessary to inter the bodies. On 10 November the Police Office in Melbourne report-

ed to the Colonial Secretary in Sydney that the initial report had been greatly exaggerated and wave action along the Tullaberga beach had begun to expose a few of the thirty-three bodies buried by the survivors of the wreck before their own rescue, however, the Customs Office whaleboat had not been able to reach Tullaberga because of adverse weather conditions and had paid a group of locals ten pounds to re-inter the exposed bodies. By 19 September 1861 the Inspector General of Public Works of Victoria contacted his counterpart in New South Wales suggesting that the bodies of the *Monumental City* dead be gathered into one tomb and an appropriate monument be erected over the site. The two colonies should agree to share the expenses of the tomb and monument. On 20 January 1862 Victoria and New South Wales agreed to share the expense of £60 to £70 to re-inter the bodies and erect a monument. The bodies were interred on Tullaberga Island, but the monument, which still stands, was erected on the larger Gabo Island to the east.²⁷

For almost 110 years the wreck of *Monumental City* would lie undisturbed off Tullaberga Island. Yet, a budding abalone industry in Mallacoota brought divers to the area and soon both abalone and sport divers were diving on the wreck site. Unfortunately no records were maintained of materials removed from the site. Beginning September 1982 an initial inspection of the site was conducted by the Victoria Historic Shipwrecks Unit. This inspection resulted in a proposal to map and photograph the site and create a display documenting the site. In October 1984 a three-day inspection was conducted. Little was found of *Monumental City's* wood hull, but the divers were able to map and photograph such artifacts as the propeller, propeller shaft, anchors, a cylinder, a piston, and miscellaneous ironwork. The survey report concluded by calling for further study of the engine and the establishment of an interpretation center at Mallacoota, Victoria.²⁸

APPENDIX A

SPECIFICATIONS FOR ENGINES AND BOILERS FOR *MONUMENTAL CITY*²⁹

	Feet.	Inches.
Length on Deck	180	0
Breadth of Beam	30	0
Depth of Hold	15	0
Tonnage	tons 768	
Average Draft of Water	12	0
Two Oscillating Engines (direct action)		
Diameter of Cylinders	3	8
Length of Stroke	3	0
Diameter of Propeller	12	0
Length of Propeller	3	0
Angle at Hub	degrees 10	
Angle at Periphery	degrees 55½	
Pitch at Periphery	25	0
Number of Blades	4	
Area of Blades	54 4/10 square feet.	
Average Number of Revolutions	40	
Average Pressure of Steam	lbs. 15	
Cutting off at	2	0
Two Iron Boilers (side by side)		
Whole Amount of Fire Surface	3,230 square feet.	
Whole Amount of Tube Surface	2,520 square feet.	
Whole Amount of Grate Surface	102 square feet.	
Ratio of Fire Surface to cubic foot of Cylinder,	51 to 1	
Ratio of Grate Surface	31½ to 1	
Area of Tubes	21 square feet.	
Area of Chimney	16 square feet.	
Height of Chimney above Grate	49 ft. 7 in.	
Consumption of Bituminous Coal per hour	1,680 lbs.	
Water Evaporated by 1 lb. of Coal	8 lbs.	
Coal per hour to a square foot of Grate	16½ lbs.	

APPENDIX B

Report of the New South Wales Steam Navigation Board relative to the circumstances connected with the loss of the Steam Ship *Monumental City*.³⁰

1. The Board having informed Captain Adams, the late Master of the American Steam Ship *Monumental City* of the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown respecting the power of the Board to enter upon an investigation into the cause of the wreck of that vessel on the morning of the 15th of May, and having received that officer's request that the inquiry might be proceeded with, have considered that, although not legally authorized to hold an investigation, they would not be performing their duty to the public, under the peculiar distressing circumstances attending the wreck of that ill-fated vessel, were they to shrink from the performance of the painful task sought to be imposed upon them by the voice of the public and urgent solicitation of Captain Adams and the Consul of the Nation to which the *Monumental City* belonged.
2. The Board not having the power to compel the attendance of witnesses, caused a notification to be made in the daily journals of the day on which they proposed to meet, and invited the attendance of all persons who could afford information on the subject of the enquiry.
3. The Board accordingly availed themselves of all the evidence offered to them, and they now beg to submit the same, with their Report thereon, for the perusal of His Excellency the Governor General.
4. The evidence was taken in the presence of Captain Adams and the American Consul, and, although it was not competent for the Board to examine the witnesses on oath, they

have reason to believe, that the full circumstances attending the wreck of the vessel have been elicited, and that no attempt was made to evade the truth.

5. The Board thinks it but right to notice here the open and manly way in which Captain Adams answered the several questions put to him, and the assistance he afforded the Board in eliciting evidence material to the enquiry.
6. The Board now proceeds to record the decision at which they have arrived on the several points involved in the investigation.
7. It appears from the evidence that the steam ship *Monumental City* left the Heads of Port Phillip on Friday, the 13th of May, about the hour of 11 A.M., having on board a number of cabin and steerage passengers; that she passed between the Island of Rodondo and the mainland on the 14th of that day, and was during the greater portion of the following day in sight of the land in the vicinity of the Long Beach.
8. Nothing material seems to have occurred until the night of the 14th, when the deck was relieved by Mr. Van Syce, the Chief Officer, who appears to have received the following orders from the second officer, Mr. Culter, which orders were repeated by Captain Adams before he retired to rest, at ten minutes past twelve: —

“When you pass this point, alluding to a bluff headland, visible on the port bow” (which is Cape Howe), haul the vessel up N.N.E., call me at four o'clock, and do not “come any nearer to the land than you are at present.”

9. When, therefore, Mr. Van Syce considered the vessel to be round the headland alluded to, he altered the course to N.N.E., and this course he appears to have steered for about forty minutes, when it was observed that the

- ship was close into the land and within sight of the breakers.
10. On his own responsibility he immediately hauled the Vessel off the land, and steered E. for about 15 or 20 minutes, he then steered E.N.E. for half an hour, N.E. for an hour, and, at about 3 o'clock, A.M., he again steered the original course of N.N.E., nothing to the northward, as given by Captain Adams, when he left the deck. This was the last course steered, and continued until about 3:45, A.M., when she struck on the Island of Talbarga, a small rocky patch, situated to the westward of Gabo Island.
 11. The wind, during the whole of Mr. Van Syce's watch, appears to have been moderate, at S.W., the water smooth, and the weather, for the first two hours, clear. It however became thick, with drizzling rain, about 2 o'clock, and continued so throughout the remainder of the watch.
 12. The vessel's speed during the middle watch seems to have been about 7 knots, or perhaps somewhat less towards the morning, as the wind became lighter.
 13. In consequence of some indefinite authority which Mr. Van Syce considers he had on former occasions received from Captain Adams to alter the course of the vessel without consulting him, he did not inform that gentleman that the vessel had approached the land at an early period after he (Captain Adams) had left the deck; nor did he inform him that he had found it necessary to alter the course, although he must have been fully aware that Captain Adams had mistaken his position, as well from his own observation as from the cautions he appears to have received from the Engineer and a Mr. Urie, a passenger, that the vessel had approached to a dangerous proximity with the land.
 14. The Board regret that they have not been able to obtain with more perfect accuracy the several courses steered during Mr. Van Syce's watch, as the seaman who had the wheel for the first two hours was unfortunately drowned, and the Board had much difficulty in interrogating the helmsman, who had the wheel for the last two hours, he being a foreigner. Sufficient was, however, elicited from his evidence to satisfy the Board that the courses steered by him were not exactly those stated by Mr. Van Syce in his evidence to have been steered.
 15. The Board see nothing to complain of in regard to the efficiency or seaworthiness of the vessel, neither is there any thing in the management or navigation requiring remark until the night of the wreck.
 16. Of the management of the vessel on this, the Board regret that they cannot but consider Captain Adams considerable to blame.
 17. First, in not having acted with that caution which his long experience as a Master of a vessel ought to have suggested, when in the immediate vicinity of a coast to which he was perfect stranger.
 18. Secondly, in giving orders for the alteration of the course during his absence from the deck, when he could not possibly have been certain of the position of his vessel, having had no observation on the previous day.
 19. And lastly, in leaving the deck to the charge of an Officer who was inexperienced and wholly unacquainted with the coast, at a time when a careful discretion was necessary; and further when he was aware that the deck compasses differed nearly two points.
 20. The Board are satisfied that Captain Adams inadvertently mistook the position of his ship, and that instead of being in the vicinity of Cape Howe, as he thought, he was really only abreast of Ram Head. It is, therefore, clear that had Mr. Van Syce continued the course given to him when Captain Adams left the deck, and had not observed the sudden approach of the vessel to the land, she would have been stranded at a much earlier

- period of the night than she was.
21. Of the highly culpable conduct of Mr. Van Syce, the Chief Officer of the vessel, the Board can hardly find terms sufficiently strong to express their disapprobation, and they cannot but regret that conduct so reprehensible should remain unpunished; for to his un-officerlike and unjustifiable conduct, the Board attribute the wreck of the *Monumental City*.
 22. He was in the opinion of the Board fully justified in altering the course of the vessel when he came suddenly upon the breakers, but this ought to have been a sufficient warning to him that the position of the ship was not what it was supposed to be when Captain Adams left the deck, and he ought at once therefore to have called his Captain, and taken no further responsibility upon himself.
 23. It does not appear to the Board that blame is attributable to any one after the stranding of the ship; although they think that as a matter of precaution a boat might have been lowered with a view to ascertain their position. They are willing however to believe that bad weather was not anticipated, and had the weather continued moderate, as was the case when the vessel struck, it is possible that the course adopted by Captain Adams, to do nothing until daylight, might have been the most prudent.
 24. The Board wholly acquit Captain Adams of any want of firmness or decision in the arrangements which were made to save the lives of the passengers and crew, and to the sudden increase of the gale, and the almost immediate breaking up of the vessel, they therefore attribute the melancholy loss of life that has taken place, and not to any want of moral courage on the part of Captain Adams, or his officers and crew.
 25. It does not appear to the Board, that any benefit could have been derived by Captain Adams remaining any longer than he did on the wreck.
 26. It is clear that the loss by drowning of several of the persons who attempted to land by the hawser, in the early part of the day, deterred many others from attempting so hazardous a mode of escape, and the Board believe that the example set by Captain Adams, in leaving the wreck at the time he did, induced many others to follow, and that several lives were thus saved which would have been sacrificed had he remained longer on board.
 27. The Board regret that the wreck of this vessel should have caused the loss of so many lives, but it appears to them that after the refusal of the females to be lowered in the life boat, little or no chance remained for their escape.
 28. Much stress has been laid by many of the witnesses on the failure of the efforts made to secure a hauling line on the hawser.
 29. The Board have, however, grave doubts whether considering the peculiar position of the wreck, the immersion of a part of the warp in the surf, and the large quantity of floating timber through which each person had to pass, such a line would not have proved more productive of harm than good.
 30. The Board, in conclusion, propose to forward a list of the names of those persons who were unfortunately drowned by the wreck of this vessel, as soon as sufficient information has been received from Victoria, which list they intend shall form a part of the Appendix to this Report.

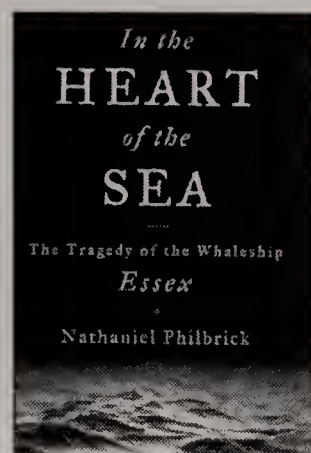
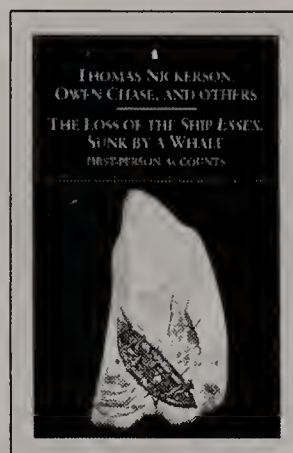
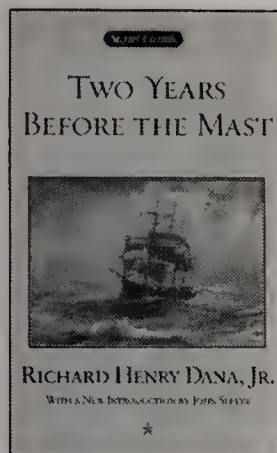
H. H. BROWNE.
W. S. DELOITTE.
BENJN. DARLEY.
GOTHER K. MANN.

Notes

1. Ross Anderson, *S.S. Conside and the S.S. Monumental City: First Steamship Across the Pacific* (Maritime Heritage Unit, Heritage Victoria, Melbourne, 1999), 4–5.
2. Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 561–63.
3. Mark Staniforth, *S.S. Monumental City, First Steamship to Cross the Pacific*, Victoria Archaeological Survey Occasional Reports Series, No. 24, Ministry for Planning and Environment (Victoria, Australia, 1986), 1.
4. *New York Herald* (New York), November 19, 1850.
5. *Baltimore American and Daily Commercial Advertiser* (Baltimore), November 6, 1850, and December 18, 1850.
6. Staniforth, *S.S. Monumental City*, 2.
7. Walter A. McDougall, *Let the Sea Make a Noise* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 338–39.
8. John H. Kemble, *The Panama Route, 1848–1869* (new ed.; Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1990), 7–8, 244–55, 56, 69–70.
9. Louis J. Rasmussen, *San Francisco Ship Passenger Lists* Vol. III (Colma, California: San Francisco Historical Records, 1970), 12–14.
10. Robertson vs. The *Monumental City*, Record Group 21, Northern Dist.. Of Calif., San Francisco, Admiralty Case Records, Box 17, Case 191, The National Archives and Records Service, San Bruno, California.
11. Rasmussen, *Passenger Lists*, 101–4.
12. Certificates of Measurements, 1851–1864, Record Group 36, Port of San Francisco, Box 6, Folder 1852, The National Archives and Records Service, San Bruno, California.
13. *San Francisco Daily Herald* (San Francisco), May 18, 1852.
14. *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco) May 18, 1852; February 2, 1853; February 15, 1853.
15. Health Officer's Report, Port Jackson, Sydney, Australia, April 23, 1853, Australian Archives, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory.
16. *Report of the New South Wales Steam Navigation Board, Relative to the Circumstances Connected with the Loss of the Steamship Monumental City with Minutes of Evidence, File No. 53/6350, July 5, 1853*, Archives Authority of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia; Staniforth, *S.S. Monumental City*, 4–7.
17. *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer*, June 8, 1953, The State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.
18. Chairman of the Steam Navigation Board to the Colonial Secretary Relative to the Wreck of the *Monumental City*, File No. 53/4849, June 3, 1853, Archives Authority of New South Wales.
19. The Honorable the Attorney General and the Solicitor forwarded to the Honorable the Colonial Secretary Reporting on the Letter of the Chairman of the Steam Navigation Board Relative to the Wreck of the *Monumental City*, File No. 53/4849, June 4, 1853; Archives Authority of New South Wales.
20. Report of the New South Wales Steam Navigation Board Relative to the Circumstances Connected with the Loss of the Steamship *Monumental City* with Minutes of Evidence, File No. 53/6350, July 5, 1853, Archives Authority of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia; also see Staniforth,

S.S. Monumental City / 4–7.

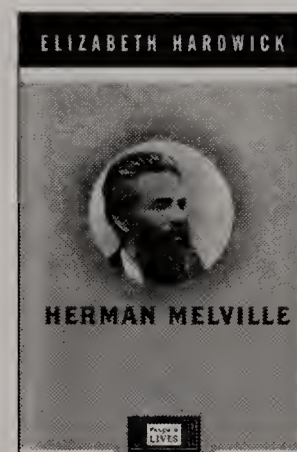
21. Report of the New South Wales Steam Navigation Board Relative to the Circumstances Connected with the Loss of the Steamship *Monumental City* with Minutes of Evidence, File No. 53/6350, July 5, 1853 (Sydney, Australia: Government Printing Office). Archives Authority of New South Wales.
22. Legislature of New South Wales to Crown law officers, File No. 53/5510, July 11, 1853, Archives Authority of New South Wales.
23. The Honorable the Attorney General and the Solicitor General to the Honorable the Colonial Secretary reporting with reference to the Report of the Board on the loss of the American steamship *Monumental City*, File No. 53/6350, July 21, 1853, Archives Authority of New South Wales.
24. A Bill to apply the Provisions of the New South Wales Steam Navigation Act of 1852 to Foreign Vessels engaged in the Colonial Passenger Trade, 1853, Archives Authority of New South Wales.
25. Attorney General and Solicitor General to Colonial Secretary, Report on loss of *Monumental City*, File No. 53/6350.
26. An undated, unsigned memo attached to the Bill of 1853.
27. Documents relating to the internment of the *Monumental City* bodies are located in File No. 53/10410, September 12, 1853 and November 10, 1853; File No. 61/4004, September 19, 1861; and File No. 62/312, January 20, 1862, Archives Authority of New South Wales.
28. Staniforth, *S.S. Monumental City*, 7–13.
29. B. H. Bartol, *Treatise on the Marine Boilers of the United States* (Philadelphia: R.W. Barnard & Sons, 1861), 68–69.
30. Steam Navigation Board, Loss of *Monumental City*, File No. 53/6350.



THE SPEEDWELL VOYAGE

A Tale of Piracy and Mutiny in the Eighteenth Century

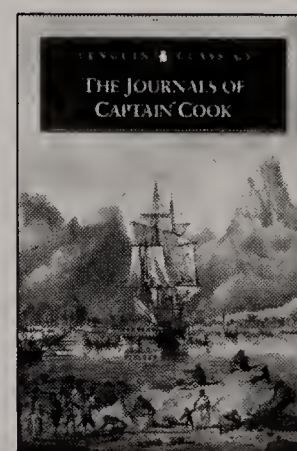
Berkley 208 pp.
0-425-17438-7 \$12.00



HERMAN MELVILLE

A Penguin Lives Biography

Lipper/Viking 160 pp.
0-670-89158-4 \$19.95



THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN COOK

Captain James Cook

Selected and Edited with Introductions by Philip Edwards.
Penguin Classic 672 pp.
0-14-043647-2 \$9.95

TWO YEARS BEFORE THE MAST
Richard Henry Dana, Jr.
Afterword by Wright Morris
New Introduction by John Seelye
The joys and hardships of a young Harvard man working as a common seaman on a perilous voyage around Cape Horn in 1834.

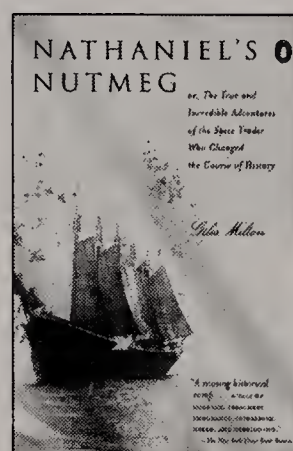
Signet Classic 448 pp.
0-451-52759-3 \$6.95

THE LOSS OF THE SHIP ESSEX, SUNK BY A WHALE
First-Person Accounts
Thomas Nickerson, Owen Chase, and Others
Edited by Thomas Philbrick
Introduction by Nathaniel Philbrick

Penguin Classic 256 pp.
0-14-043796-7 \$12.95

IN THE HEART OF THE SEA
The Tragedy of the Whaleship Essex
Nathaniel Philbrick

Viking 320 pp.
0-670-89157-6 \$24.95



NATHANIEL'S NUTMEG
Or, the True and Incredible Adventures of the Spice Trader Who Changed the Course of History
Giles Milton

Penguin 400 pp.
0-14-029260-8 \$13.95

GHOSTS OF CAPE SABINE
The Harrowing True Story of the Greely Expedition
Leonard F. Guttridge

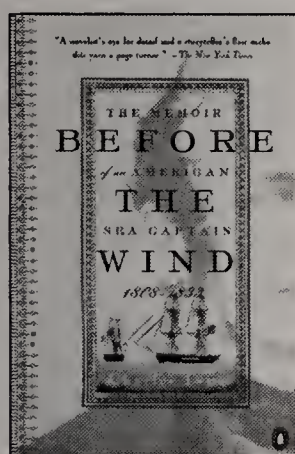
Berkley 374 pp.
0-425-17654-1 \$13.95

THE PRIZE OF ALL THE OCEANS
The Dramatic True Story of Commodore Anson's Voyage Round the World and How He Seized the Spanish Treasure Galleon
Glyn Williams

Viking 288 pp.
0-670-89197-5 \$27.95

THE TITANIC READER
Edited by John Wilson Foster
This anthology relives the sinking of the *Titanic*, with accounts of survivors and witnesses, and shows how a variety of commentators sought meaning in the disaster.

Penguin original 400 pp.
0-14-118483-3 \$14.95



BEFORE THE WIND
The Memoir of an American Sea Captain, 1808-1833
Charles Tyng

Edited by Susan Fels
Preface by William La Moy of the Peabody Essex Museum. Afterword by Thomas Philbrick.

Penguin 288 pp.
0-14-029191-1 \$13.95



PENGUIN PUTNAM INC.

ACADEMIC MARKETING DEPARTMENT • 375 HUDSON STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10014-3657 • www.penguinputnam.com

A CALL FOR ARTICLES

Mains'l Haul: A Journal of Pacific Maritime History invites professional and amateur scholars and students to submit articles on any aspect of humanity's relationship to the Pacific Ocean.

We encourage interdisciplinary perspectives as well as traditional maritime history.

We accept papers throughout the year.

Submissions must be 3,000 or fewer words in length, plus endnotes, and be intended for both a general and scholarly readership.

For further guidelines or information on this quarterly international journal, and to view a sample issue, visit our website at www.sdmartime.com/journal

Please send your abstract or article to:

Mark Allen, Editor

Mains'l Haul

San Diego Maritime Museum

1306 N. Harbor Drive, San Diego, CA 92101

MAINS'L HAUL

A Journal of Pacific Maritime History

published by the San Diego Maritime Museum since 1964



THE OBSERVATORY

RARE AND COMMON BOOKS, MAPS, PRINTS

Alaska and Other Polar Regions



Dee Longenbaugh, proprietor
235 Second Street • Juneau, Alaska 99801 USA
Phone: 907/586-9676
Fax: 907/586-9606
E-Mail: deelong@alaska.net



≈ MUSEUM FOCUS ≈

MARITIME MAINE'S *WYOMING*

BY J. S. DEAN

Maine has laid more keels of ships than anywhere else in North America. Downeasters have gone to the sea for over three hundred fifty years in cargo ships, warships, and fishing vessels built in this seafaring state. One such place where keels were laid (and still are) is along the tidal Kennebec River in Bath. Nearly one hundred years ago, in 1909, on the site of what is now the Maine Maritime Museum, the shipyard of Percy & Small launched the 450-foot six-masted schooner *Wyoming*, believed to be the world's largest wooden sailing vessel. In her brief life of fifteen years, she represented the culmination of schooner design. Coincidence calls up the irony that following in her wake, just three years later in 1912, a shipyard in Britain launched another ship, what was then the world's largest steamship, the state-of-the art but ill-fated White Star liner *Titanic*, sent to the bottom off the Newfoundland Banks. The *Wyoming* is also long gone, lost on the Nantucket Shoals in 1924, but some of the original buildings of the yard that saw her down the ways are still there, virtually intact, as part of the museum.

The Maine Maritime Museum, dating from the early 1960s, is now over thirty years old, and is engaged in a campaign to refit itself for the next millennium, so that Maine's salty past can serve as ballast for the future. The Museum has undertaken a \$3,500,000 capital campaign to repair and

restore the yard, improve the exhibitions, construct a new 3,200 square foot auditorium/classroom/dining building for the more than 16,000 children and numerous others who come to visit the Museum each year. An increase in the endowment will allow the Museum to expand its programs. Additionally, it will construct a gallery that will include period paintings and photographs of Percy & Small vessels, a diorama of the yard, and a large-scale model of the schooner *Cora F. Cressy*. There will be a refurbished mold loft, a recreated

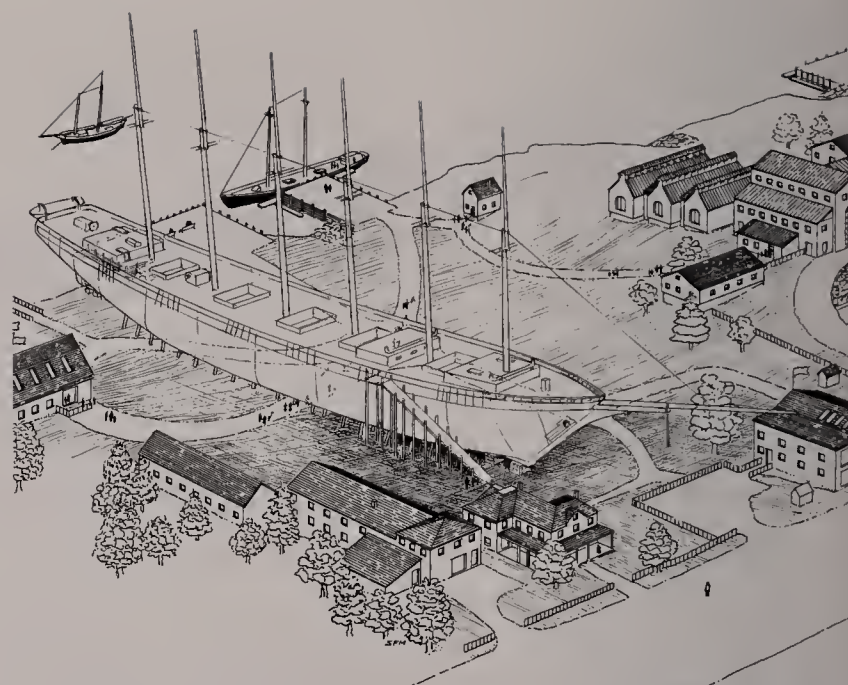


Wyoming launching. In 1909 the shipyard of Percy & Small, Bath, Maine, launched the 450-foot, six-masted schooner *Wyoming*. She sailed for fifteen years before wrecking on the Nantucket Shoals in 1924. The yard of Percy & Small is now the Maine Maritime Museum.

office, demonstrations of paintmaking and treenail making, and a massive antique saw and planer at work in the mill. Visitors can learn about navigation, watch fish being cleaned, sing sea shanties, make ship models, and build skiffs. The joiner shop will show how craftsmen made the smaller pieces that went into the yard's schooners. The Museum includes the home of a nineteenth-century shipbuilder, the William T. Donnell House, to be restored to its original Victorian style. New construction will provide space for library and curatorial collections. The whole place will be more lively, inside and out.

Outside, things will also be different. The Museum looks after over one hundred thirty watercraft. A number of these historic watercraft ride at anchor or are moored alongside: Hampton boats, a *Friendship* sloop, a sardine carrier, N. C. Wyeth's lobster boat launch, and the museum's pikney schooner *Maine*. In the summertime, the Grand Banks schooner *Sherman Zwicker* sails from the company pier with Museum visitors. Sailing to Bath in your own vessel? Use the guest moorings. There should soon be a new building with showers and laundry for the visiting yachtsman.

The Museum's centerpiece will be a towering structure which will evoke the size and grace of the legendary *Wyoming*. That "evocation" will be a full-scale recreation, all six masts stepped and rising to their original height. According to Edward P. Harding, Campaign Chair, and Thomas R. Wilcox, Jr., Executive Director, honoring Maine's seafaring heritage is a noble pursuit. "With our roots firmly ground in Bath's shipbuilding tradition, but with our mission reflecting all of Maine's maritime history, we firmly believe no other institution is as well positioned as Maine Maritime Museum to tell the stories of Maine's relationship to the sea." The Museum has put out a call for all hands on deck, to raise the \$600,000 or 20% remaining needed to reach the funding goal.



Line drawing of the *Wyoming* in the shipyard. The *Wyoming's* mammoth size contrasts with the shipyard buildings present in 1909. The remaining buildings, together with a construct of the schooner, all six masts stepped, will evoke the maritime past at the yard, now the site of the Maine Maritime Museum.

Maine Maritime Museum
243 Washington Street
Bath, Maine 04530
Phone: (207) 443-1316
Fax: (207) 443-1665
www.bathmaine.com

COMPREHENSIVE STUDY OF AMERICA'S MARITIME HISTORY LAUNCHED

The American Maritime History Project, Inc., in an ambitious effort to record, preserve, and communicate the 400-year story of America's rich seafaring history, was formally launched in Kings Point, New York, on 8 January 2000 by the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy.

Dr. Alex Roland, the project's editor, described plans for the first phase to the project's board of directors and advisory committee. Dr.

Roland, a professor and former chairman of the Duke University History Department, is a specialist in military history, and previously has served as historian for NASA. He introduced four other scholars who will contribute chapters to the initial summary volume of a planned comprehensive history of American maritime activity from 1600 to 2000. Future volumes focusing on particular periods within that span are planned.

The historians are Dr. Roland; Dr. Alexander Keyssar, Professor of History and Public Policy at Duke; Dr. David B. Sicilia, Professor of History at the University of Maryland; Dr. W. Jeffrey Bolster, Professor of History at the University of New Hampshire; and Dr. Raymond E. Ashley, Executive Director of the San Diego Maritime Museum and Professor of Public History at the University of San Diego. Two former U.S. maritime administrators—Vice Admiral Albert J. Herberger, U.S.N (ret.) and Captain Warren G. Leback—are among thirteen members of the project's board of directors.

"This is an exciting enterprise," said Dr. Roland. "Maritime activity—transporting goods and passengers by water—was America's largest industry from earliest colonial times until the middle of the nineteenth century. Waterborne commerce, not only on the oceans but the Great Lakes, rivers, canals, and other waterways, built this country and remains vital today. Yet the impact of maritime activity on American history remains little studied and poorly appreciated. We hope to correct that shortcoming."

Participants urged the historians to weave together such continuing threads as the national and global economic impact of maritime activity, the role of technology, and effects of government policy, while tying into the story the many ancillary businesses that supported the maritime industry. There was a general agreement on the need to write so as to appeal to a broad audience, a major challenge given the complexity of the subject.

Eliot H. Lumbard, a New York lawyer who chairs the not-for-profit enterprise, noted that

"Water remains the lowest cost method of moving cargo and people, and thus our history informs the future." He said successful initial fundraising efforts have made it possible to engage the historians to begin their work immediately.

In addition to publishing the volumes describing and analyzing American history maritime activity in the context of each historical period, the project will also prepare more specialized supporting volumes and materials, including materials for school children.

"The maritime industry has a long and often exciting history of vital service to America, in peace and war," said U.S. Maritime Administrator Clyde J. Hart Jr. in a letter to Mr. Lumbard endorsing the project. "All Americans deserve to know more about the important contribution of maritime transport to the economic growth of the nation."

The American Maritime History Project is based at the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, which, as one of the five U.S. service academies, trains officers who serve on commercial vessels, as well as in the Navy, Marines, Coast Guard, and other services. A number of participants, including Mr. Lumbard, are academy graduates, and several maritime industry leaders and academy faculty members serve on the project advisory committee.

C.S.S ALABAMA ASSOCIATION

Under the command of Captain (later Rear Admiral and Brigadier General) Raphael Semmes, *Alabama* cut a path of destruction stretching across the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico and into the Indian Ocean as far as Indonesia before the ship returned to European waters. In her twenty-two month cruise, *Alabama* became the most successful American commerce raider of all time, capturing or destroying sixty-nine enemy vessels.

"On a sunny June day in 1864, as 15,000

spectators watch from the French coast, the C.S.S. *Alabama* will engage in her final duel, battling the U.S.S. *Kearsarge*. For seventy minutes, the two ships circle, exchanging thunderous cannon fire. Deadly splinters scream through the air, the cries of the wounded mingling with the sound of whistling shells, the pungent smell of gunpowder hanging heavily in the air, gun smoke casting a pall over the deadly scene.

"*Alabama* has fought gallantly, but she is in her death throes, going down by the stern. The wounded are gently laid in the few remaining boats of the *Alabama* and dispatched to the *Kearsarge*. The *Alabama* surgeon declines to leave the ship and is lost to the sea. It's every man for himself as the order is given to abandon ship, and the English yacht *Deerhound* rushes to the scene to rescue the survivors. The waves wash over the ship's bowsprit, the last anyone would see of the brave ship *Alabama* . . . until now."

Located in the 1980s off the coast of Cherbourg, France, the *Alabama* lies in 180 feet of water. Some three hundred artifacts have been recovered from the ship, ranging in size from small coins to the Blakeley gun that could hurl 100-pound shells.

While the ship belongs to the United States government, the French government has provided Navy divers to assist in the salvage of artifacts from the *Alabama*. Until recently, the French National Power Company (Electricité de France) has assisted a private French non-profit foundation, Association C.S.S. *Alabama*, in paying for the preservation of these artifacts, many of which are now in conservation laboratories in both France and the United States.

The C.S.S. *Alabama* Association U.S.A.
PO Box 2744
Mobile, Alabama 36652-2744
Fax: (334)433-1602.
E-Mail: CSSAIAIS64@aol.com

AUVs AND SUBMARINE CABLE AT UNDERWATER INTERVENTION CONFERENCE, 15–17 JANUARY 2001

Underwater Intervention is the world's premiere underwater contracting conference. With a primary emphasis on commercial diving, ROVs, and related issues, conference organizers felt it appropriate to include special emphasis on submarine cable and AUVs this year, as those are two rapidly evolving areas that profoundly affect the underwater contracting business.

Considering the fact that Underwater Intervention is a staging ground for cutting-edge technologies and trends in the underwater arena, it is not surprising that conference organizers have decided to put submarine cable and the commercialization of AUVs on center stage at the upcoming conference, in addition to the usual range of diving and ROV related underwater contracting content. UI 2001 is slated for January 15–17, 2001, at the Convention Center in Tampa, Florida.

THE AUTONOMOUS REVOLUTION

"For AUVs, 2001 should be a year of great activity and advances," stated Brian Morr of Technosphere, Inc., guest chairman of the AUV Technical Track. "We're hoping that the papers submitted will reflect the growing interest in this revolutionary technology applied to the rapidly developing offshore market."

The theme throughout these papers will be "Towards the Commercialization of AUVs." Morr stated, "We anticipate having presentations not only from the mainstream manufacturers, operators and clients but also from the smaller specialist technology and service groups that may be able to make significant contributions, perhaps in ways currently not thought of."

In addition to the AUV Technical Papers, UI 2001 will also be featuring an AUV Discussion

Panel in a format similar to that at UI 2000 in Houston, but with more time for participation from the floor.

WIRING THE UNDERWATER WORLD

Submarine fiber optic cable will become the world's "wired" infrastructure of the twenty-first century. Fiber optic trunk communications channels will soon link more than 280 countries with voice, fax, and modemed communications. In a revolution as dramatic as that of offshore oil in the 1960s and 1970s, the underwater industry is poised to ride a surge of contracts, technologies, and revenues through installing, maintaining, and repairing this fiber optic infrastructure. Underwater Intervention will continue its leadership position in providing a forum for presentation of the leading technologies and practices that define the industry's capabilities in serving this burgeoning business sector.

Participants at UI 2001 will examine the best technologies and practices of today, providing the blueprint for a bold future in the underwater cable industry. The following subject areas will be explored at UI 2001: Fiber Optic Systems, Route Surveys/Assessment, System Planning, Deepwater and Near-Shore Lay and Burial, Cable Protection, and Cable Maintenance and Repair.

Underwater Intervention is co-sponsored by the ROV Committee of the Marine Technology Society (MTS/ROV) and the Association of Diving Contractors International (ADC). The organizations are co-sponsoring the event for the ninth consecutive year.

The recently issued Call for Papers has resulted in a strong early response, with topics such as ROV, diver, and submersible operations; submarine cable installation and-maintenance; platform, pipeline, and production system installation and maintenance; commercialization of AUVs, inshore diving and ROV utilization; contaminated diving; bridge inspections; search and salvage; safety, certification, and insurance; and industry trends being represented.

Underwater Intervention has expanded its Web site to include in-depth information and hypertext links to many convention, business, and entertainment resources.

Underwater Intervention is currently accepting advance registrations.

Underwater Intervention

To register:

(800) 316-2188

(281) 893-8539

<http://www.diveweb.com/ui>

JOHN LYMAN BOOK AWARDS

NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR OCEANIC HISTORY

1999

At its annual meeting the North American Society for Oceanic History announced the recipients of its John Lyman Book Awards, which recognize outstanding books dealing with the maritime and naval history of North America. The following books received prizes:

Canadian Naval and Maritime History

JAMES P. DELGADO

Across the Top of the World: The Quest for the Northwest Passage
(Checkmark Books)

US Naval and Maritime History

CHARLES R. SCHULTZ

Forty-Niners 'Round the Horn
(University of South Carolina Press)

Honorable Mention

ALEXANDER BOYD HAWES

Off Soundings: Aspects of the Maritime History of Rhode Island
(Posterity Press)

Reference Work and Published Primary Source

ROBERT J. CRESSMAN

The Official Chronology of the U.S. Navy in World War II
(Naval Institute Press)

Biography and Autobiography

CRAIG SYMONDS

Confederate Admiral: The Life and Wars of Franklin Buchanan
(Naval Institute Press)

The Awards Committee of the North American Society for Oceanic History is composed of James C. Bradford, chair (Texas A&M University), James M. Morris (Christopher Newport University), William A. Peterson (Mystic Seaport Museum), and Richard Turk (Allegheny College).



LETTERS



WINSTON CHURCHILL'S RETURN TO ADMIRALTY

When my copy of the *American Neptune* arrived, the first item I turned to was the Editor in Chief's note concerning Sir Winston Churchill's return to the Admiralty.

I was serving as a Midshipman R.C.N., at that time, in the battle cruiser H.M.S. *Renown*. We were in the dockyard in Rosyth, Scotland, for a few days for routine maintenance. Around mid-day a pipe was made over the S.R.E. (Sound Reproduction Equipment), "Winston is back." Silence, then a very audible groan came from officers and men. I asked the Officer of the Watch what that meant. All our officers and men were permanent force. Many had served in the First World War at Gallipoli and blamed Churchill for the disaster.

Mr. Churchill soon recovered respect for his leadership. He took passage from Scotland to Scapa Flow in my next ship H.M.S. *Matabele*, a Tribal destroyer. He gained even more respect from the Matabelies by having brandy with his breakfast.

LATHAM B. JENSON
Commander R.C.N. (Ret.)
Hubbards, Nova Scotia

AMERICA'S CUP

I happened across the *American Neptune* at the Sturgis Library in Barnstable Village. I am wondering if you or any one can help me with the answer to a question I have been trying to answer for a great many years.

The question: was there a painter of marine subjects named Hallett who could have been around to paint the America's Cup Race of 1885?

The background: when I was a small boy growing up in Boston sixty years ago, a painting (which I still have) showing two sailboats hung in our home. My mother told me that it depicted boats racing for the America's Cup, and she told me about Sir Thomas Lipton who had tried many times to win back the cup. If memory serves (and it may not!) she said that it had been painted by my great-grandfather's brother Joseph Henry Hallett who was a seafaring man. Unfortunately it turns out he was lost at sea in 1854. About twenty years ago we had the painting professionally cleaned; no signature was found. I sent a photograph of the painting to the New York Yacht Club. According to the librarian "the painting appears to be generally consistent with the pictures of the 1885 America's Cup yachts *Puritan* and *Genesta*."

My great-grandfather also had a nephew, George H. Hallett (1863-1925) who was a seafaring man. I have not yet been able to learn whether he was a painter. (By the way, according to my sister, who was trained in art, the painter was a "primitive" painter.)

Any information you can supply or any suggestions as to how I might proceed in attempting to solve this mystery would be appreciated.

HARRY D. AZADIAN
East Sandwich, Massachusetts
HAZADIAN@aol.com

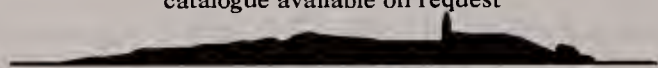
Old & Rare Maritime Books

Bought and Sold

- Exploration and voyages by sea
- Shipbuilding, seamanship and navigation
- Naval history
- Whaling
- Yachting and Cruising
- Commercial fisheries
- Lighthouses, pirates and shipwrecks
- Logbooks, documents and manuscripts
- Sea charts
- Books relating to marine art, antiques and ship models

We are eager to purchase single volumes or entire collections in these subject areas.

Ten Pound Island Book Co.
76 Langford Street, Gloucester, MA 01930
(978) 283-5299
email: tenpound@shore.net
web: <http://www.tenpound.com>
catalogue available on request



since 1976

AHAB'S TRADE

The Saga of South Seas Whaling

Granville Allen Mawer

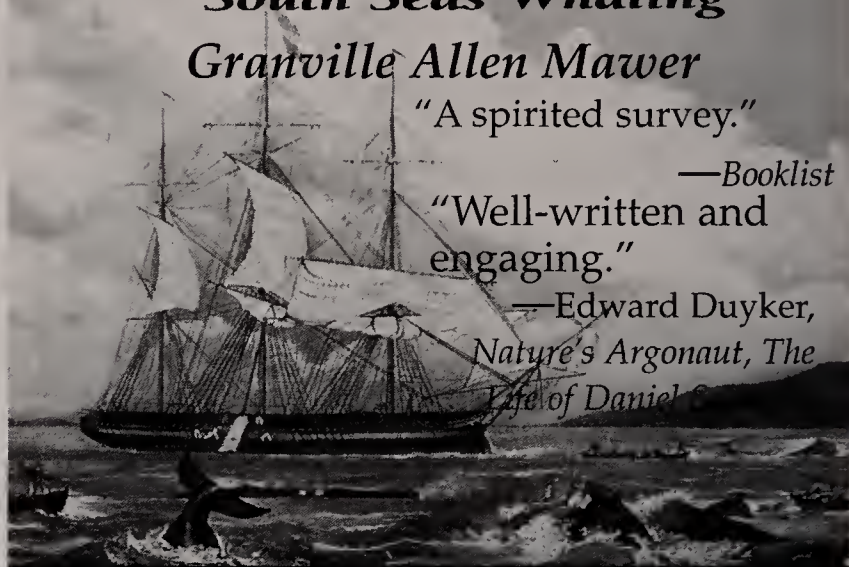
"A spirited survey."

—Booklist

"Well-written and
engaging."

—Edward Duyker,

*Nature's Argonaut, The
Life of Daniel C.*



ISBN 0-312-22809-0

St. Martin's Press • Scholarly & Reference Division
175 Fifth Avenue • New York, NY 10010
1-800-221-7945 ext. 270
www.stmartins-scholarly.com



Seacrest Manor

99 Marmion Way
Rockport, MA 01966
(978) 546-2211

"Overlooking Woods and Sea"

A JOHANSENS RECOMMENDED INN



"One of the Outstanding reasons to visit New England":
Yankee Magazine's Travel Guide to New England
A 1996 "Editors' Pick"

Decidedly small – intentionally quiet. Gracious hospitality in luxurious surroundings with magnificent views. Our famous full breakfast & tea included. Spacious grounds, lovely gardens, ample parking. No pets – not recommended for children. Read about us in MOBIL GUIDE ★ ★ ★ & FODOR'S. May we send you our brochure?

TWENTY-EIGHT YEARS OF EXCELLENCE
OPEN APRIL THRU NOVEMBER - SMOKE FREE
Hosts: Leighton T. Saville & Dwight B. MacCormack, Jr.

www.seacrestmanor.com

ORIGINAL ANTIQUE MAPS & SEA-CHARTS U.S. & Worldwide



T. Jefferys "West Indies" 1762

G GRACE GALLERIES, INC.

20 West Cundys Point Road • Harpswell, Maine 04079
(207) 729-1329 • Fax (207) 729-0385

Email: jackie@gracegalleries.com
Web: www.gracegalleries.com

Free Listings • Specify Areas of Interest

~ BOOK REVIEWS ~

CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN, *A Arte Eo Mare [Art and the Sea]: Catalogue of the Temporary Exhibitions Gallery, 18 May to 30 August 1998*. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1998. 330 pages, color illustrations, bibliography, Softcover. ISBN 972-8128-4IX. 6,000 escudos [\$33.67]

To commemorate the 500th anniversary of the voyage to India of Vasco da Gama, Lisbon hosted Expo 98, an international exposition whose theme was the oceans. The motto of the exposition, "a heritage for the future," prompted the director of the Gulbenkian Museum to organize an exhibition on "Art and the Sea" and to publish a catalogue of it. The exhibit surveyed the relationship of Portugal and the sea from antiquity to the present time. Most of the items displayed came from the collections of the Gulbenkian Museum, but many museums and private collectors also lent objects. The 316 items displayed included coins, maps, parchment, religious objects, pottery, ceramics, dishes, jars, bowls, bottles, teapots, carpets, furniture, whale's teeth, carvings on wood and ivory, as well as engravings and paintings. For readers of this journal, perhaps the most interesting section was that devoted to ports and maritime experiences. Here were depictions of various types of sailing craft, two nineteenth century views of the port of Marseilles, and a painting of a seventeenth century naval battle between Dutch and English ships. This same section included paintings of fishermen and their women as well as beach scenes. Another section

was devoted to "The Sea: Between Celebration and Elegy," which included paintings of seascapes, disasters at sea, and events in Portuguese history. All in all, the exhibit was a splendid opportunity to experience the ways in which the sea has inspired artists in many lands and over many centuries, and to view objects that are rarely seen, even in photographs, in the United States.

HAROLD D. LANGLEY
The Catholic University of America
Washington, D.C.

THOMAS H. B. SYMONS, *Meta Incognita: A Discourse of Discovery. Martin Frobisher's Arctic Expeditions: 1576-1578*. Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1999. Two volumes. xlvii and vi + 636 pages, illustrations, 16 color plates, notes. Paper. ISBN 0-660-17507-X. \$45/set.

These two volumes deal with (Sir) Martin Frobisher (1535/36-1594) and his three voyages to the Arctic in 1576, 1577, and 1578. Frobisher was a seaman, adventurer, explorer, and privateer similar to contemporaries such as Walter Raleigh, Francis Drake, and John Hawkins. His voyages were made for the Company of Cathay, founded c. 1574 with the aim of finding a northwestern sea passage between the North Atlantic and Pacific Oceans in order to establish a trade route with the legendary Cathay (China). The Company of Cathay was similar to the Russia or Moscovy Company which had been established in the 1550s to find a north-

eastern sea passage to Asia, north of Europe and Siberia. Because of ignorance about the size of the earth and the continents, it was expected that these routes were shorter than by the way of Cape of Good Hope or the Strait of Magellan.

Instead of finding a sea passage, which had to wait until Amundsen in 1906, Frobisher's two small ships *Michael* and *Gabriel* landed in the eastern part of the North American Arctic. On return to England Queen Elizabeth named the area Meta Incognita, the Unknown Shore (now Resolution Island). During their stay, the seamen had various encounters with the local Inuit population, and when returning home took some objects from the land, including a piece of black stone, as evidence of their visit. As this stone was thought to contain gold, it completely changed the character of the following voyages. The second expedition was commissioned to excavate more ore and therefore included a number of miners. The third voyage was a full mining expedition with a fleet of no less than fifteen ships, and it set out with the intention to establish a permanent colony on Meta Incognita. Had this succeeded it would have been the first permanent European settlement in northern America. However, because of various setbacks, it was decided not to winter, and the plans for a settlement were abandoned. The remaining ships returned to England, where it was soon discovered that the ore did not contain gold.

Although Frobisher was not forgotten by historians, it was not until 1861–1862 that Charles Francis Hall (1821–1871), the American explorer of the Arctic, rediscovered and identified the mines on Resolution Island which had been excavated by Frobisher's men. Since then the site was visited on several occasions, but it was not until after the 1980s that it was assessed more extensively by American and Canadian scientists. This led to the Meta Incognita Project in 1990 by the Canadian Museum of Civilization. The aim of the project is to cast new light upon the Frobisher voyages and their significance for the history of North America and Britain. Following this the

Archival Research Task Force was set up in the United Kingdom, operating under the guidance of the Project. Scholars in Canada and the United Kingdom, all of them specialists in their particular fields, were invited to research all aspects of the Frobisher voyages in archival sources. The result is these two volumes which contain essays introducing such subjects as the Company of Cathay and its secretary Michael Lok, the medical aspects, Frobisher's ships, and navigation and cartography of the period. Other subjects dealt with are Frobisher's metallurgists and the furnaces used to fire the ore, and the Inuit which were frequently encountered. A third volume is projected—the date of its appearance has regrettably not been announced—and will include the archaeology of the Frobisher mine sites, Inuit place names, and aspects of the physical environment and palaeoenvironments.

When the three volumes are available, all aspects of this important and interesting period of Arctic history will have been researched and published. The result will be comparable to the recent Dutch-Russian multi-disciplinary research of the 1596–1597 wintering quarters of Willem Barents on Nova Zemlya, which was published in *Northbound with Barents* (Amsterdam, 1997).

Meta Incognita: A Discourse of Discovery is a well-balanced and wide-ranging collection of essays within the subject area. The references are adequate and cross-references to other essays are sufficiently included. The black-and-white illustrations, especially those of cartography, are not always of good quality. It is regrettable that these volumes do not include a general bibliography or an index. Let us hope that this omission will be made up for with cumulative bibliographies and indices in the third volume, which is eagerly awaited.

WILLEM F. J. MORZER BRUYN
Nederlands Scheepvaartmuseum
Amsterdam, The Netherlands

RICHARD HARDING, *Seapower and Naval Warfare, 1650–1830*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1999. xx + 356 pages, maps, statistical tables, bibliography, index. Cloth, ISBN 1-55750-888-7. \$45.00. Paper, ISBN 1-55750-889-5. \$24.95.

“Big” naval histories seem to be back in fashion once more. Richard Harding’s *Seapower and Naval Warfare* is one of a number of recent surveys covering broad periods and a wide range of themes, thereby responding—consciously or unconsciously—to the demands emerging from the Yale-Naval War College conferences of the mid-1990s, *et al.*, for less parochial and more professional works of naval history. Harding’s work certainly fulfills these criteria admirably. Despite his claim that his sources are not comprehensive and are generally accessible, his citation of such diverse evidence as an obscure manuscript describing the Dutch barrier forts, and an array of modern French, Dutch and Spanish sources, betray a powerful command of the material and provide excellent pointers for further study. Harding also attempts to set naval history in as many contexts as possible, revisiting the perennial, “Mahanian” question of the relationship between the growth of navies and nations by considering the political, economic, and strategic realities within which navies operated. Although inevitably focusing to a considerable extent on the British Royal Navy, he provides ample coverage of other European navies and the fledgling United States Navy, drawing some perceptive comparisons and analyzing lucidly the very different circumstances which governed naval warfare in the North Sea, the Baltic, the Mediterranean, the Americas, and the Indian Ocean. Harding’s judgements are invariably astute, particularly his emphasis on the vitally important relationship between state navies and privateering, and his book also makes Jan Glete’s important statistics on the sizes of sailing navies more accessible than they have been hitherto.

All of this would be a lot to cover within the parameters of a much bigger book. Harding

attempts to address this problem by effectively dividing his work into two parts. The three opening chapters adopt a thematic approach, considering the historiography of the sailing navy era, the changing nature of the maritime world, and the concept of the battle fleet; a subsequent thematic chapter considers “the growth of operational flexibility” (looking at, for example, the infrastructures and personnel required by navies). Six chapters cover the period 1650–1830 chronologically, adopting some familiar dividing points: 1650–1688, 1688–1713, 1713–1756, 1756–1763, 1763–1789, 1789–1830. The relative weight given to these periods may raise some eyebrows—particularly the sixty-one pages given to the first, as against the twenty-three given to the last—and, inevitably, any attempt to cover 180 years of global naval history in roughly the same number of pages leads to a certain breathlessness, as well as some small slips (for instance, the claim on page 17 that every European country “was politically dominated by a landed aristocracy” is diametrically contradicted by the incisive account of the Netherlands on the two preceding pages). A considerable amount of background knowledge on the part of the reader is taken for granted, with, for example, the “line of battle” and the inscription maritime (the French recruitment system) appearing suddenly, with no explanation. Indeed, a “general reader” tackling the book from beginning to end may struggle with Harding’s first chapter, “The Age of Sail and Naval History,” which provides a useful summary of the evolution of naval history as a discipline, but which actually touches only occasionally on the period he is supposed to be analyzing. Such a reader might find the book more accessible if he studied the narrative chapters first, then moved on to the thematic overviews.

However, the value of *Seapower and Naval Warfare*, both as a summary of the state of the debate on sailing navies and as a major contribution to that debate, should not be in doubt. Harding himself is very aware of the fact that this

book does not provide definitive answers. In his concluding sentences, he provides a long list of contexts prerequisite to a sound understanding of the nature of seapower and naval warfare in his period: the list progresses from "maritime technology" to "the maturing of markets across the world" by way of "city planning" and no fewer than sixteen other issues (page 287; even then, some naval historians might claim this list is by no means exclusive). A tall order—but in this relatively concise, tightly argued work, Richard Harding is surely right to make it so.

J. DAVID DAVIES
Bedford Modern School
Bedford, England

JAMES L. GEORGE, *History of Warships from Ancient Times to the Twentieth Century*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1995. xvi +353 pages, illustrations, bibliography, index. ISBN 1-55750-312-5.

The votaries of Clio with ever increasing assiduity present their oblations to demonstrate their devotion to the study of history. Despite the prognostications of the doomsayers that the Internet would replace the book and the journal, such has not been the case. Indeed, quite the reverse situation exists, and, at the same time, because of the exigencies of modern scholarship, the offerings to Clio are of an even higher professional quality. In the midst of such competition, it is particularly agreeable to find a volume which combines the best elements. James L. George's *History of Warships* is stylishly written, cogent, professional in tone, and provocative. He has the nice ability to present his subject in a fashion that is instantly attractive to the reader. George does not "dumb down" his material; he is skillful enough in his writing to ensure that difficult material and ideas are readily understood.

The format of the narrative is uncomplicat-

ed. Acting on the belief that a good introduction can ensure comprehension, the initial eighty pages of text give a general account of warships from antiquity to what he defines as the modern age—the twentieth century.

The construction of H.M.S. *Dreadnought* in 1906 really ensured that all other major naval vessels would become obsolete. At this moment until August 1914 the real naval race began. Britain was in the lead but other countries such as the United States and Germany were close behind. The great battleships so mythologized were in reality only symbols of naval power; in a sense Jutland alone saw their proper use and it was inconclusive. The power politics of post Versailles used naval authority effectively. Nothing did more for a nation's outward prestige than those naval visits around the world. A great navy helped to show who was "top nation." H.M.S. *Hood* figured prominently in this effort. Her sinking in May 1941 with such heavy casualties had a very special significance.

The book is divided into various chapters describing in some detail the various classes of naval vessels from dreadnoughts to small combatants. Each section begins with a brief recapitulation of the origin followed by the role played in World War I and World War II. Anecdotal evidence is introduced at the appropriate moment, such as the encounter in April 1917 when two British destroyers tangled with some German torpedo vessels and an old-fashioned boarding ensued, complete with cutlasses. George tells us almost in an aside that Alexander Graham Bell experimented with the hydrofoil or that George Ritter von Trapp of *The Sound of Music* fame in a small submarine sank a French cruiser. One notes that his projected "futuristic warships" may well be significant in naval warfare but they will never capture the imagination of the public, as did their predecessors such as the *Iowa* or the *Leander*.

George concludes his study with a section he entitles "Summaries, Ironies, Myths and Lessons." This is a thoughtful and perceptive recapitulation of the ideas that have been paramount. He is not

pessimistic about the future of the warship. His concluding paragraph is most apt: "While no one can predict the future, history tells us that in warships there must be a balance of quality and quantity. But one thing is certain despite all the dire predictions the age of warships is far from over, and the best guide for the future is still the understanding of the past" (page 292).

On the technical and nontextual side of the book one must take note of the useful tables and statistics in the narrative. The notes and bibliography demonstrate irrefutably the impeccable character of the scholarship. The occasional illustration is useful to reinforce a point of view. Dr James George has written a useful and instructive book. Of it one might quote Theodore Roosevelt, himself a proponent of the warship, with a favorite word "Bully!" which he used in commendation and it is right that it be utilized to reward George's excellence.

S. W. JACKMAN
St. Edmunds College
Cambridge, England

DONALD A. PETRIE, *The Prize Game. Lawful Looting on the High Seas in the Days of Fighting Sail*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1999. xiii, 217 pages, appendix, illustrations, maps.

"On the evening of 16 April 1781, off St. Abbs Head just south of the Firth of Forth, the French privateer *Calonne* commanded by Luke Ryan, captured the merchant brig *Nancy* of Aberdeen. After midnight ransom papers were signed and the *Nancy* was released . . . when a cry from the mast-head of *Calonne* reported that the lights of two vessels were to be seen at the entrance to the Firth of Forth . . . the vessels began to close . . . the nearer of the two appeared to Ryan to be a fat north country merchantman . . . Ryan released a broadside, called out to his quarry to heave to, and put overboard a boat with a boarding party of thirteen men. The stranger's reply came back

through the darkness: the unmistakable drum roll of a British man-of-war calling her crew to battle quarters" (pages 47-48). Captain Luke Ryan made a mistake that resulted in his capture and trial not as a privateer but as a pirate. Ryan's career contains all the action needed for a Hollywood film. Fortunately for the reader, this episode is but one of five lively chapters crafted by Donald Petrie to illuminate the practice of the prize game.

Readers of maritime history are familiar with privateering and prize taking. Prizes were a great economic windfall to privateersmen and to the nations that offered them commissions. But the rules and laws governing prize taking and the adjudication of prize cases is a less familiar subject. In fact, Petrie notes that the last serious study of prize law published in the United States was Francis Upton's *The Law of Nations Affecting Commerce During War: With a Review of the Jurisdiction, Practice and Proceedings of Prize Courts* (1861). Recent works relating to prizes and privateers include those by Henry Bourguignon, Carl Ubbelohde, Carl Swanson, and Richard Hill, who published a study of prizes captured by the Royal Navy during the Napoleonic Wars. Petrie provides an analysis of the prize game not found elsewhere. He cuts directly to the origins of the practice of prize law. A quick review of maritime law is followed by an explanation of letters of marque and the evolution of international law. What is not fully discussed in the text is referenced in the thirty-five pages of notes that follow.

The key players in the formulation of British and American prize law include Lord Mansfield, author of the 1753 Report of the Law Officers, Lord Stowall, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty from 1798 to 1828, U.S. Supreme Court Justices Joseph Story, John Jay, and attorney and author Richard Henry Dana, Jr. who argued the Prize Cases upholding President Lincoln's proclamation of blockade. Petrie clarifies the role of British prize law practice and its impact on American law. Readers are directed to the sources of prize cases and encouraged to read them, set-

ting aside their trepidations concerning legal language. Petrie's explanation of how the prize game worked is remarkably devoid of legal prolixities. He is careful to define technical terms as they arise and to explain their application. The Appendix entitled "The Rules of the Game" introduces the reader to a prize case from the predator's first sight of the "chase" through capture, recapture, to the condemnation by prize courts and the rights of neutrals. Recapture also includes postliminy, the restoration of persons and property seized by an enemy and later restored to their original status.

It is the cases selected by Petrie to illustrate the prize game that give the book its flavor and lasting value: the ransoming of the Scottish whaler *Eliza Swan*, the daring encounters of the U.S. brig *Argus*, the exploits of the privateers *Scourge*, *Rattle Snake*, and *True Blooded Yankee* off the North Cape, all participants in the War of 1812, and the capture of the Confederate blockade runner *Siren*, deliberately scuttled and set afire at Charleston, yet miraculously saved, largely through the efforts of black civilians.

The lawful looting of ships on the high seas in the age of fighting sail, unlike piracy, can only be understood within the context of international law and maritime customs which compose the law (and lore) of the sea. Donald Petrie provides for students of maritime history a succinct and compelling story through judicious use of examples. Could any sailor's stake in the prize game rival that of Luke Ryan and his lieutenants who commanded six privateering vessels under the flags of three different nations on opposing sides in the same war while taking 140 prizes? Ironically, Ryan died in debtor's prison in 1789. Fortunately for readers of *The Prize Game*, their debt will merely be one of gratitude to the author for an engaging and scholarly study of the prize game.

TIMOTHY J. RUNYAN
East Carolina University
Greenville, North Carolina

DERYCK SCARR, *Slaving and Slavery in the Indian Ocean*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998. xi + 238, 6 maps, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. ISBN 0-312-21211-9. \$65.00.

Slaving and Slavery in the Indian Ocean focuses on the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century slave-holding plantation societies of the Mascarenes—the islands of Mauritius (Ile de France), Réunion (Bourbon)—and the outlying Seychelles. The title misleads. This is not a history of slavery in the Indian Ocean region. Deryck Scarr provides skimpy coverage of the slave-trade ports of Madagascar, Mozambique, Zanzibar, and the Malabar coast. As well, slavery continued in the region well beyond his chosen stopping point in the 1830s. Instead, he delves into the slave-holding plantation societies on this collection of off-shore islands, important to the imperial interests of France and Britain both for their productive output, particularly in sugar, and their strategic importance on the sea routes to India.

Scarr begins by chronicling the late eighteenth century slave economy of the islands, emphasizing the often complicated relationships between masters, slaves, free blacks who owned slaves, and the creole children of master and slave sexual liaisons. By the 1810s the British had seized control of the island ports and frustrated French privateering along Britannia's Indian trade route, but despite abolitionist efforts to curb the Indian Ocean slave trade, anti-slave laws received nominal enforcement. The difficulty in finding the political will to suppress slavery on land led eventually to the persistent British naval pursuit of slavers on the sea lanes between the mainland and the islands. Scarr's narrative recounts the contest between French slavers who often outran heavier British war ships and through much intrigue landed their illicit human cargoes at covert rendezvous along the shores of the Mascarenes.

This middle passage, although shorter than its Atlantic counterpart, still proved incredibly fatal. The islands' slave populations did not repro-

duce themselves, as skewed sex ratios and high death rates associated with sugar plantation labor required continual human imports. Once on land, slaves fled bondage in large numbers, forming maroon slave communities that survived by their wits in Mauritius' forested interior. Scarr's narrative insists that the region's French-driven slave economy carried a high cost in human suffering with the tacit support of British governors. Not until the 1830s did British abolitionists force uniform slave emancipation. Overall, he draws a compelling portrait of a white minority living in fear of its enslaved labor force and the prospect of emancipation.

Details overwhelm, however, any effort at synthesis, as Scarr leads his reader into the maze of his considerable research. The writing is often exasperating and in need of additional editing. Some readers might find refreshing Scarr's refusal to engage in any substantial historiographical debate in a field rife with such discussion. While such debate amongst historians can produce tedious reading, important questions do arise—questions that remain unasked in this work. One might have hoped for more emphasis on the slave communities. Predictably a history based in court and colonial administration records will be peopled with governors, naval and slave ship captains, plantation owners, and the occasional slave unfortunate enough to run afoul of the law. Scarr laments the resulting anonymity of the slaves and notes the absence of "slave autobiographies." Despite scarce sources, a generation of historians has found in other slave societies the means to give the subaltern a voice.

The absence of slave perspectives entails significant problems. This history gives readers little sense of where the "slaves" actually came from and what their lives might have been like before their enslavement. This is not a point of idle curiosity, as attention to enslaved peoples' freer pasts often gives insights into how they coped with the exigencies of their enslavement. Scarr quotes frequently from written colonial sources

which represent the biases of their European writers. As a result it is often difficult to separate early nineteenth century perspectives from the author's own. At one point, Scarr notes that, "Slaves with a growing prospect of freedom were doubly dangerous" (page 175). In another instance he allows his narrative to lapse into the masters' perspective without the requisite authorial distancing. He writes: "Slaves passed happily from hand to hand without care or fear for their future. In Europe the aged labourer's lot could be destitution" (page 188). Finally, he qualifies inexplicably, insisting that "Maroons were no longer hamstrung. The sad necessity for slavery by no means meant humanity went unrecognised on the island" (page 189). Scarr's problematic analysis leaves this region's history ripe for future studies.

ROBERT B. CAMPBELL
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

KEITH MCLAREN, *Light on the Water: Early Photography of Coastal British Columbia*. Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998. 160 pages, acid-free paper, frontispiece + 121 duotone black and white prints, bibliography, index. ISBN 0-295-97748-5. \$35.00. University of Washington Press, PO Box 50096, Seattle WA 98145-5096.

The marine artist Charles Robert Patterson understood the value of photographs of ships, and not only as mnemonic devices for new paintings. "Strange as it may seem," he wrote in 1932, "your sailing ship man puts a picture of a sailing vessel, preferably a photo, ahead of anything else, and can look at them by the hour." (C. R. Patterson to Mark Hennessy, New York, 3 October 1932, of.1. Hennessy Papers, Maine Maritime Museum) Well, it would amaze Mr. Patterson and the other "sailing-ship men" from times past to witness the current revolution in photographic reproduction

on press. The photo images that now inform every historical subject are the best ever made by far, rivaling even original silver prints in their range of detail, contrast, and clarity. Ever-improving electronic scanners and new technologies for enhancing, cleaning and digitizing images have brought forth a new appreciation for old photographs. When combined with the expensive duotone printing process—black ink followed by a specially-selected second color—such photographs become masterpieces that compel our attention.

On the heels of other annotated, image-rich photography books like Wayne Bonnett's *A Pacific Legacy: A Century of Maritime Photography 1850–1950* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1991) and *An Eye for the Coast: The Maritime and Monhegan Island Photographs of Erik Hudson*, by Earle G. Shettleworth, Jr. and W. H. Bunting (Gardiner, Maine: Tilbury House Publishers, 1998) comes *Light on the Water*, which has as its *raison d'être* 121 of the most fantastic works by early marine photographers in British Columbia. Many of these images are works by now-anonymous men and women, as is the generality of early photographs everywhere. Those that can be identified include pictures made by a dozen or more dedicated photographers and commercial operations such as the Dominion Photo Company.

Their carefully engineered reproduction in duotone is thrilling beyond measure. To feel it, one need not look beyond page 18, where the great four-masted bark *Pamir* slams down into a heavy sea off Cape Flattery. Who among us has not seen such photographs?—and yet this single image raises the ante in the game. On page 30 appears what must be counted among the most horrific sea photographs of all time, W. N. Kelly's "on-the-spot" snapshot of the Chilean ship *Carelmapu* almost in the breakers, her stern rising in the surf, sails shredded, the signal "I cannot save my vessel" flying from her monkey-gaff. The extensive caption advises us that shortly after the photograph was made the *Carelmapu* parted her anchor chains

and drove ashore with the loss of four-fifths of her complement of twenty-five passengers and crew.

What would otherwise be a simple scrap-book of images is divided categorically into six topical chapters, each of which receives a brief explanatory introduction. Every photograph is also treated to a carefully-researched caption, but words fail to bog down the expectant turning from one page to the next, for on each the reader—perhaps viewer a better term—discovers another image of rare delight. The pictures, as they say, "speak for themselves."

In the chapter entitled "Days of Sail," there is a superb on-deck view of the barkentine *S. F. Tolmie*, her foresail blown to shreds and seawater running freely across the deck. In "Local Shipbuilding" there is the graceful yet unfinished sheer of a new schooner erected in a makeshift builder's yard at Victoria, and an atmospheric photograph of new double-ended rowing boats outside J. J. Robinson's boat shop in the same city. "Coastal Routes" begins with an image of the steamship *City of Kingston* joined with individual portraits of her crew in a unique photo montage by Hannah Maynard and ends, or very nearly so, with a news photographer's shot of fire totally engulfing the Canadian Pacific Railway's Pier D at Vancouver in 1938.

"Across the Pacific" continues with a photographic invitation to embark aboard the great transpacific liners, beginning with composite sail-steam vessels. There are several photographs of elaborately decorated cabin interiors and saloon arrangements, and the "gatefold" is a real pinup queen, the *Empress of Japan* (II) at Vancouver, with several small boats and the tugboat *Myrtle* in attendance. The tug's name can be read without the aid of a magnifying glass, and in such little details the quality of the photo reproduction shines.

Concluding chapters cover "The Naval Presence" and "Trade and Industry." There are repair-dock images, scenes of sailors at their stations, tins of salmon stacked inside a cannery at

Steveston, torpedo damage, two shopworn but newly clarified pictures from the British Columbia whaling industry, even a rare in-focus shot of H.M.S. *Condor* under weigh. Here is Leonard Frank's study of tugboats tied up for Christmas at the Pacific Coyle Navigation wharves, many "dressed" for the occasion with small Christmas trees sent up to masthead. And there is the five-masted topsail schooner *Geraldine Wolvin* outward-bound from Vancouver in May 1917: her new paint glistens and a notable load of sawn timber weighs down her deck from forecastle head to the break of the poop.

Keith McLaren has deliberately culled some of the best photographs available from western Canadian sources. The British Columbia Archives are heavily represented, as are the Vancouver Maritime Museum, the Maritime Museum of British Columbia, and the Vancouver Public Library. There are also contributions from private collections, photographs that even professional maritime historians, librarians, and curators would rarely have an opportunity to see. This volume joins *A Pacific Heritage*, the groundbreaking older title *Tall Ships on Puget Sound*, and the pioneering efforts of historian Jim Gibbs in making available a comprehensive and distinctively West Coast maritime photographic history. *Light on the Water* in particular cannot be passed over.

ROBERT LLOYD WEBB
Phippsburg, Maine

JAMES CABLE, *The Political Influence of Naval Force in History*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998. viii + 213 pages, bibliography, index. Hardcover, ISBN 0-333-67169-4. Paper, ISBN 0-333-67170-8. No prices given.

Sir James Cable, a retired British diplomat, has written his tenth book as an interpretative overview of the past five centuries. It assures the reader's passing familiarity with the sweep of

naval—or at least British—history, inasmuch as the Royal Navy dominates the text from the 1690s to virtually the present. For example, the event which opens and closes this tiny tome is the Anglo-Argentine Falkland Islands conflict of 1982. Under its Mahanish title the book sets out to discover "the use of governments of naval force as an instrument to further their political purposes" (page 1) via a "random sampling" of "selectively explored" examples (pages 1, 162). In fact, they were deliberately selected and examined with the goal of separating purely naval from predominantly political applications of warships.

Cable's problem, however, is trying to divorce the two categories, let alone the political factor from economic, social, and ideological ones. A case in point is the British navy's campaign against the slave trade that was motivated by "always humanitarianism, a potent cause in British politics in the nineteenth century" (page 68). However, abolition was a grassroots movement instead of one generated by political leaders. He presents its economic aspects too, the free traders who lost out to the moralists. By even more laborious logic, Cable believes that Britain did not deliberately use its navy for political purposes during the Seven Years War (1756–1763), as if its destruction of the French navy, merchant marine, and overseas colonial network were not part of Pitt's plan to restore the balance of political power on the continent. Instead, by Cable's reckoning, France rather than Britain was more politically devoted to the use of its navy! Cable also snorts that Admiral E. J. King, the U.S. Navy's leader in World War II, turned his political venom against Britain's participation in the Pacific instead of against Japan, a very minor matter in contrast to King's overriding goal (until the end of 1944) to destroy the Imperial navy in order to land in China for the destruction of Japan's continental empire.

Cable has no use for the ancients, neither the Greeks—whose battle fleet in fact preserved Athenian political democracy—because the

ancient historians cannot be trusted; nor the Punic Wars—in which the Roman fleet destroyed the navy of Carthage and invaded its north African homeland—because its galleys had sea-keeping problems. Nor does he fully appreciate the navy of Renaissance Venice, whose galley fleet fought protracted naval wars with the Byzantine Empire and Genoa in the centuries before 1500. The modern post-1500 standing professional European navies with heavily-gunned warships in battle fleets are the building blocks of Cable's study. This said, he gives excellent treatment to Britain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Germany, Japan, and the United States, although the years since 1870 are treated as much for their diplomatic and political aspects as the naval. The chapters on both world wars and the interwar period are given only fourteen pages each, the Cold War only slightly more in two chapters.

Cable relies heavily on the books of Paul Kennedy, then takes him to task for "radical arguments" that a nation must have an overpowering industrial and economic base in order to prevail at sea. Cable's reasoning is so weak, however, that he seems to simply throw up his hands and abandon the effort with the words of John Maynard Keynes that in the end "we are all dead" anyway (pages 52, 163–65). Equally unable to divine the future of navies, he proceeds to waste a chapter ruminating mostly on the unlikely possibility of privatized navies.

The book is far too heavily annotated—even including a long quotation from one of Cable's own earlier books!—from a hodgepodge of many sources of uneven quality, for instance for the United States in several pre-1945 American history textbooks, including Dudley W. Knox's 1936 history of the U.S. Navy. Dozens of quotations of historians are mundane and ought to have been paraphrased; instead they detract from the impact of many notable gems. The direct quoting of French and German sources in their native languages, translated in the notes, is superfluous. Cable's best prose is straight historical narrative, in

which nuggets of information surface, but many turns of phrase are obscure in meaning, *e.g.*, his analytical tests are applied "to winnow the chaff from the grain of history!" (page 14).

As for content and coverage in so short a book, the career diplomat author preferred some fairly minor "sideshows" (page 132) over some major events, as the World War II chapter's attention to Britain's sinking of the French fleet at Oran and the French seizure of St. Pierre and Miquelon islands near Newfoundland while entirely ignoring the China-Burma-India theater. Finally, Barfleur and Cape La Hougue were not separate naval battles in 1692 but the same one. The U.S. Naval Academy was founded in 1845, not 1850. The battleship *Missouri* was the flagship of Admiral Halsey, not Admiral Nimitz. There is also a large helping of inedible "grain": "It is too soon to be sure whether, even in the long run, anything was gained by the Second World War, and if so, for what" (page 127). Perhaps Sir James's chagrin at the demise of his own country's hegemonic status during that conflict has caused him even to forget the scourge to the human race that Adolf Hitler was.

CLARK G. REYNOLDS
University/College of Charleston
Charleston, South Carolina

JERRY W. JONES, *U.S. Battleship Operations in World War I*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. ix + 170 pages, photographs, diagram, map, endnotes, bibliography, index. Hardcover. ISBN 1-55750-411-3. \$29.95.

This slim volume published by the Naval Institute Press is an excellent "first book" for those, like me, who are not specialists in naval or ship history. Professor Jerry Jones received his Ph.D. from the University of North Texas and is an assistant professor of history and government at the University of Central Texas. *U.S. Battleship Operations of World War I*, presented persuasive-

ly in seven chapters and a conclusion, is a derivative of his doctoral dissertation and has been well made with proper endnotes, photographs, bibliography, and index.

Germany and Great Britain were the major naval powers of the Great War, with the U.S. Navy consigned to a subsidiary, but important, role of sustaining the British Royal Navy and protecting the lines of communications in the Atlantic. This is primarily a history of battle fleets, not submarines and destroyers. Jones focuses on the eighteen American battleships, six of them pre-dreadnoughts, that added weight to the allied naval forces operating in the waters of the European war zone. Cooperation with the British Grand Fleet, including integration of a U.S. Navy battleship division, added significantly to American operational efficiency and demonstrated resolve.

The U.S. Navy of the World War I era emerged from the nineteenth century hewing to A. T. Mahan's idea of a concentrated battle fleet, but without much battle experience. Granted, the engagements in Cuba and the Philippines were instructive for naval line and staff officers, but the encounters were brief. When America entered the war in April 1917, the navy was having second thoughts about how the fleet should be deployed. Britain was having difficulty dealing with the German submarines and the U.S. was "militarily unprepared" to render much assistance. Moreover, according to Jones, the two English-speaking Naval forces had divergent strategic concepts. The British reluctantly adopted convoy escorting only as merchant shipping increasingly fell prey to the German submarines. The American navy would not abandon its concentrated battle fleet strategy to provide the needed escorts to the Royal Navy. The British wanted to blockade and the Americans wanted to attack the submarine bases. Vice Admiral William Sims' recommendation notwithstanding, the U.S. Navy continued to refuse to contribute a portion of its battle fleet to work in partnership with the British so that the

latter's resources could deal with the submarine threat (page 10). Sims, the senior American naval officer with the allies and a recognized Anglophile, worked diligently for better relations between the two fleets. The advisability of close cooperation between the American and British finally dawned on Admiral William Benson, the American chief of naval operations, in November 1917 after a visit to London. A division of four coal-burning dreadnoughts, Battleship Division Nine of the Atlantic Fleet, arrived at Scapa Flow on December 7 to rescue American prestige. It appears that both the American navy and army had to learn the harsh realities of cooperating with allies in a coalition war, particularly with the late arrival of the Americans.

New York, Florida, Delaware, Wyoming, and later *Texas*, all under the command of Rear Admiral Hugh Rodman, added depth to the Royal fleet permitting rotation of British ships for maintenance, training, and antisubmarine operations. The British were suspicious that American gunnery was not up to their standard, which is hardly surprising, given the lack of American battle experience. The Americans had to adapt to the British style of gunnery and signals training and operations. Gunnery training in the Grand Fleet was done combat style with no predetermined ranges to targets and under combat conditions. It took the Americans a few months to make the adjustment. Effective gunnery depended on reliable communications from target acquisition to computation of data and transmittal of data to the guns. Jones makes clear that improvement in gunnery skill was a major outcome of American participation with the Grand Fleet (pages 85-86).

Later in the war, Rear Admiral Thomas Rodgers commanded Battleship Division Six of the Atlantic Fleet, comprising at first three, then four American battleships deployed on an independent security mission off the southern tip of Ireland to contain German battle cruisers from breaking out into the Atlantic. This mission was designed to protect the transatlantic convoys.

After six months of negotiations a joint U.S.-British plan for counter-raider operations was agreed to, but the Armistice rendered the arrangements moot.

As expected, research for this short history is detailed and appropriate to the subject. Archival collections in the United States and the United Kingdom were consulted, as well as private papers, government documents, and memoirs of principals. "The U.S. battleships," Jones concludes, "played an active role in North Sea operations and became an integral part of the British Grand Fleet" (page 128). This operational experience, plus convoy escort duty in the Atlantic, gave the Allies the naval combat power they needed to enforce the blockade of the German Navy. Admirals Beatty and Rodman illustrated the first lesson of coalition war partners—work toward positive resolutions of differences to the benefit of the fleet and the mission. "The influence of the U.S. battle fleet was indirect, but substantial" (page 129).

JOHN F. VOTAW
First Division Museum at Cantigny
Wheaton, Illinois

JANE SAMSON, *Imperial Benevolence: Making British Authority in the Pacific Islands*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998. xvi + 240 pages. Maps. Index. ISBN 0-8248-1927-6. \$35.00 (cloth).

In *Imperial Benevolence*, Jane Samson examines how naval captains interpreted, shaped, and enforced British policy in the Pacific islands during the early and mid-Victorian era, focusing on the navy's sense of mission and the humanitarianism that underpinned it. While she occasionally dips into the eighteenth century for background and ranges throughout much of Polynesia and Melanesia, she concentrates on the period from the inception of regular patrols in the islands in 1829 until the cession of Fiji to Britain in 1874, devoting the preponderance of her study to

Tonga, Samoa, Fiji, and the New Hebrides. Samson recovers the navy's ethos by analyzing journals, correspondence, and published accounts of captains, subordinate officers, and British missionaries, as well as Admiralty and Colonial Office records.

Samson's core argument is that Royal Navy captains, in alliance with missionaries and sympathetic officials, assumed the role of "knights-errant" in a broader humanitarian crusade to protect, "civilize," and Christianize islanders. This humanitarian project rested upon the construction of a Pacific "other" that portrayed islanders as childlike "noble savages" capable of great "improvement" but highly susceptible to the "corrupting" influences of "unscrupulous" traders, planters, beachcombers, labor recruiters, and, not least, French Catholic missionaries. The commanders' zeal in defending the "innocent islander" and upholding the principle of indigenous sovereignty ultimately extended British authority to new places and in ways initially unsanctioned, if not later repudiated, by Westminster. In firsthand accounts published in Britain and Australia, and by playing upon their connections in Parliament and the civil service, naval officers and missionaries vilified, often unfairly, the Europeans and Americans living and doing business in the islands. Whites became the true "savages," allegedly inducing immorality and violence among the indigents by trafficking in firearms and alcohol, setting bad examples with their slothful and promiscuous behavior, and kidnaping, mistreating, and murdering islanders, who either mimicked their actions or later retaliated against subsequent white visitors. This campaign gradually swayed public opinion and official policy, drawing Britain into a more formal colonial presence in the South Pacific. In several respects these dynamics paralleled and drew from Britain's suppression of the slave trade earlier in the century.

Samson's thesis is the foundation for a larger revisionist agenda. She contends that conventional historiography has too sharply differentiated

between two species of British expansion, essentializing early and mid-Victorian imperialism as “reluctant” and “informal,” thereby rendering it fundamentally distinct from the territorial expansion and direct administration that characterized later British practice. Although she does not deny that British policy and attitudes underwent significant change during the final quarter of the nineteenth century, she argues that a paternalistic motivation to protect and “civilize” islanders persisted. For Samson, the difference is more of manifestation than of underlying principles; the forces and processes at work in the earlier period lead to territorial expansion in the latter. Moreover, many during the period considered favored formal administration in the Pacific. She recounts several instances of H.M. ships’ captains accepting the supposed cession of islands from local chiefs whom they imagined to be “kings,” only to have the British government disavow their actions and “return” the islands to indigenous authorities.

This is related to another of Samson’s overarching objectives—elucidating the fractures and contradictions within British imperialism. She finds, in agreement with scholars such as Nicholas Thomas, imperial and Pacific historiography dominated by a historical monolith of colonizer and colonized. Beyond highlighting contests over imperial policy and tensions among chiefs vying for paramountcy, she exposes the ambiguities of the humanitarian project itself, which simultaneously supported indigenous sovereignty and characterized islanders as children requiring protection.

Samson also debunks prevailing notions of the Pacific labor trade and so-called “gunboat diplomacy.” Naval captains and missionaries at the time (and many scholars since) viewed labor recruiting as a practice akin to slavery. Samson’s sources reveal that the majority of islanders entered into labor contracts voluntarily, generally understood what they were agreeing to, and benefitted from their sojourns abroad. British officers and missionaries, she suggests, could not

accept a reality that did not comport with their world view. Instead, they magnified the few instances of genuine maltreatment and kidnaping to affirm a “truth” that justified their agenda. Samson likewise demolishes the myth that the navy roughly handled islanders. On the contrary, naval captains rarely fired upon islanders unless their ships were in immediate danger, usually warned villages well beforehand if ordered to inflict “punishment,” and almost always opposed the interests of non-missionary whites in the islands.

Scholars and others interested in maritime history, British imperialism, and the Pacific islands will all find much of value in *Imperial Benevolence*. Samson’s argumentation is more or less convincing, and her narrative is very readable and concise. Yet the book is not without its shortcomings. In her introduction she speaks of the “floating culture” of Royal Navy ships, but does little thereafter to recover it for her readers. She also mentions the need for a balanced presentation that incorporates islander agency and an ethnographic sensibility, but she is weak in these areas. Usually, she confines herself to general statements that islanders pursued their own agendas, often fooled or used Europeans for their own purposes, and ascribed meaning to actions and events in different ways. Ultimately, this is a story about ships’ captains and their missionary friends, but it is a fascinating and worthwhile story nonetheless.

DAVID A. ROBYAK
University of Hawaii at Manoa

WALTER STAPLES, *The North Bay Narrative: One Hundred Years of a Newfoundland Outport Village*. Portsmouth, N.H.: Peter E. Randall Publisher, 1998 [Peter E. Randall Publisher, 5 Greenleaf Woods Drive, U102, PO Box 4726, Portsmouth, NH 03802-4726; www.PBR-publisher.com]. xvi + 194 pages, photographs, maps, figures, appendix. Paper. ISBN 0-914339-70-2.

\$15.95 U.S.. \$22.50 Canadian. Distributed in the U.S. by University Press of New England, Hanover, N.H. and in Canada by Nimbus Publishing, Halifax, N.S.

Poultry disease research seems an unlikely profession for the author of a book about a Newfoundland outport, but it was at a Poultry Health Conference in 1980 that Walter Staples met Duncan Smith, a veterinarian and longtime business acquaintance who had developed a salmon-fishing camp for himself and his friends near North Bay on Newfoundland's South Coast. That led to the first of many visits to North Bay, and as he began to know the residents who guided visiting sportsmen, Staples became interested in the history of their community.

Situated in the inner recesses of La Poile Bay and accessible even today only by sea, North Bay was settled by fisherfolk in the late 1800s. They were drawn there by access to caribou hunting to supplement their domestic economy; they stayed to develop a salmon fishery and to use the abundant stands of virgin forests to build skiffs and schooners for the coastal trade and the cod fishery. When demand for wooden boats faded in the 1960s, the community tried shifting into guiding for visiting sport-fishermen and hunters. The highly seasonal nature of these activities, together with the inability to compete with more accessible camps elsewhere in Newfoundland, made North Bay vulnerable to the allure of government resettlement incentives. The last permanent residents left in 1968, although the community survives to this day as a summer community.

Staples tells the story of North Bay's rise and decline with mixed success. On the one hand, his interviews of local residents brings their past to life through their own words. The construction of a small schooner, from felling and moving the timber in the winter, to laying the keel, stem, and ribs, to adding and sealing the planking, is explained in careful detail. Similarly, we learn how hunting evolved from a necessary subsistence

activity into a service sold to outsiders. Some cows were kept, there was cod and salmon in season, fur trapping took place in the winter, and berry picking was important both as an essential subsistence activity and a recreational one. The self-sufficiency and ingenuity of the residents is a recurring theme, whether it entailed building a water-powered saw out of parts the residents manufactured themselves, or bending the frame of a boat in a home-made box with steam generated by a crude but effective generator fashioned out of a 45-gallon drum.

On the other hand, Staples appears to have undertaken no secondary research to verify or contextualize information acquired through interviews. Thus, we are told several times (pages 1, 8, 12, 49, 86) that French treaty privileges interfered with local settlement by preventing property rights from being established in the nineteenth century. This is simply not correct; this stretch of coast was never part of the so-called Treaty Shore. He also claims that local boatbuilding developed in response to the demands of the "floater" fishery on the Labrador Coast, yet the particular boats whose construction he describes usually ended up sold in Nova Scotia into the coastal trade or the fishery of that province, not the Labrador fishery. Some references are left undeveloped. What effect did the government subsidy (page 29) have on encouraging local boat-building? How important was whaling to the local economy (pages 6, 9)? Staples alludes (pages 11-12) to the region's economic linkages with Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island but fails to recognize that this set the region apart from other parts of Newfoundland. Conspicuously invisible from the narration is the Great Depression. Perhaps the people of North Bay were unaffected by the way it forced a bankrupt Newfoundland to give up its self-governing status, but surely its impact on markets for fish and boats was profound even in North Bay?

The North Bay Narrative is therefore a disappointment. Despite numerous insights into the

subsistence culture of a remote Newfoundland community that supported itself for many years by building skiffs, small schooners, and fishing vessels for purchase and use elsewhere, the serious factual errors undermine confidence in what Staples has to say, while his failure to link North Bay into events and developments elsewhere undermines the book's wider significance.

OLAF UWE JANZEN
Sir Wilfred Grenfell College
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

WILLIAM M. LEARY, *Under Ice: Waldo Lyon and the Development of the Arctic Submarine*. College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M Press, 1999. xxviii + 303 pages, illustrations, bibliography, index. ISBN 0-89096-845-4. \$32.95. Texas A&M University Press, College Station, TX 77843-4354.

The recent fascination with travel and exploration in extreme environments has yielded an increasing interest in the history of such endeavors. New biographies of Fridtjof Nansen, Robert Peary, and Robert Scott, republications of classic travel narratives, and new exhibits of Shackelton's Antarctic expedition at New York's American Museum of Natural History and the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, all bear witness to that trend. William M. Leary's *Under Ice*, an examination of Waldo Lyon's efforts to study Arctic waters and develop an Arctic submarine, is an important contribution to that literature. Relying on analysis of Lyon's papers, which include the archival records of the former Arctic Submarine Laboratory in Point Loma, California, Leary offers valuable insights into a largely untold chapter: the role that the Navy played in Arctic exploration in the years after World War II.

The book, principally a chronological account of Lyon's life and work from the mid 1940s to the early 1990s, tells the story of how a somewhat improbable figure, based in a temperate

environment, was able to develop a major program in Arctic oceanography and exploration. Trained as a physicist, Lyon spent World War II working at the Navy Radio and Sound Laboratory on the outskirts of San Diego, California. Conducting research on underwater sound, he quickly learned the importance of water currents and temperature layers for submarine warfare. He also constructed acoustical equipment for harbor defense purposes. Following the war Lyon was assigned to Operation Highjump, a Navy Antarctic expedition that whetted his appetite for studying the problems of submarine operations in cold waters. By 1947 Lyon was pushing the Navy to undertake oceanographic studies and sonar experiments in Arctic waters and to establish a submarine laboratory at the Point Loma facility. Leary describes the trials and tribulations associated with those early efforts. While Lyon often received support from the Navy's Bureau of Ships and Office of Naval Research, operational commanders and the Chief of Naval Operations generally rebuffed his proposals to modify submarines for under-ice experiments and employ them in the far north.

Lyon did gain some opportunities, and Leary recounts Lyon's activities in the Arctic onboard the Navy vessels *Cedarwood*, *Burton Island*, and *Redfish*. Yet it was really only after 1954, when the Navy began participating in the Defense Early Warning System, and especially after the development of the *Nautilus*, that Lyon's program really took off. The nuclear powered submarine, as Lyon himself noted, "opened a whole new world" (page 107), and Leary devotes considerable attention to Lyon's efforts to take nuclear submarines under the ice. Lyon's scientific studies using various new sonar systems, iceberg detectors, and other equipment onboard the nuclear submarines *Skate* and *Sargo* are discussed in detail, but it is the chapter on Operation Sunshine, the 1958 effort to take *Nautilus* under the polar ice cap, a top secret venture in which Lyon had to concoct cover stories, adopt assumed names and itineraries, and agree to

be smuggled onboard the submarine that constitutes one of the highlights of the book.

Throughout, Leary provides a clear and compelling account of Lyon's work in Arctic exploration. Leary possesses a good understanding of the scientific, technical, and operational details associated with Lyon's activities, and readers will particularly enjoy the discussions of his many Arctic expeditions. At the same time, Leary effectively places Lyon's work in historical context, noting the tactical and strategic importance of Arctic oceanography and submarine operations during the Cold War. As a result, Leary has produced a book that effectively demonstrates Lyon's significance without bordering on the heroic.

The book would be enhanced by a fuller discussion of the early years of the Naval Arctic Research Laboratory at Point Barrow, Alaska, and its possible impact on Lyon's program. Leary also emphasizes Lyon's work onboard northern expeditions at the expense of a more complete analysis of the submarine research facility at Point Loma. On the whole, however, *Under Ice* is a well researched, eminently readable study of an important aspect of Arctic exploration.

RONALD RAINGER
Department of History
Texas Tech University

JOHN D. ALDEN, *Salvage Man: Edward Ellsberg and the U.S. Navy*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. 301 pages, photographs, charts.

When the U.S. Navy's submarine S-51 sank off the coast of Massachusetts in 1926, LT Edward Ellsberg, a naval constructor stationed nearby, rushed to the scene to volunteer as salvage officer. He had no particular knowledge of salvage, or even submarines; few naval officers did. Ellsberg, a brilliant engineer and naval architect, did, however, possess tremendous self-confidence and limitless enthusiasm.

Ellsberg would need these qualities and

more, for the salvage of the submarine under the demanding supervision of Captain Ernest J. King took ten grueling, dangerous months. Author John Alden's vivid description of the harrowing work gives the reader a complete understanding of the difficulties a hard-hat diver endured while working in cold, dark water 132 feet below the surface.

Ellsberg's success in raising S-51 brought him a national reputation as a salvage expert, altering his career and life. *Salvage Man*, Alden's excellent biography, describes the remarkable accomplishments and frustrations of this controversial naval officer who was also a brilliant engineer, outspoken lecturer, and best-selling author whose books Hollywood turned into movies.

The son of Russian Jewish immigrants, Edward Ellsberg graduated first in the Class of 1914 at the Naval Academy. He received a desirable assignment to a new battleship, but in 1915 he made a significant career change within the Navy when he exchanged his status as a line officer (one qualified to command ships) for that of a naval constructor, a staff position. As a naval constructor, he established a formidable reputation for his ability to solve complex engineering problems. He combined this quality with personal courage, strength, endurance, and a resolve to never ask his men to do something he could not and would not do himself. Although he thrived on the challenges of engineering work, he chafed under promotion restrictions for naval constructors which slowed his advancement.

In 1926, when changes in the regulations governing promotions made the path of a naval constructor even more difficult, Ellsberg resigned and went to work for the Tide Water Oil Company. He also began writing naval history and fiction. *On the Bottom*, an account of the salvage of the S-51, became a bestseller upon publication in 1929, and *Pigboats* was made into the movie *Hell Below* by MGM Studios in 1933. He lectured nationally on naval topics. His writing and lecturing drew criticism within the Navy from

those who felt it was improper for a naval officer, even though a reservist, to write professionally and profit from his naval experience.

Ellsberg rejoined the Navy on December 8, 1941, although some officials spoke against his recommissioning. At a time when senior officers with salvage experience were in demand, Ellsberg was sent to the remote port of Massawa, Ethiopia, to repair shipyard facilities destroyed by the retreating Italians. He worked from April to November 1942 under almost unbelievable conditions of heat, humidity, and scarcity of personnel and equipment. Using every innovation he could devise and taking every risk that had a chance of paying off, he drove himself and his men to accomplish miracles of salvage and ship repair under the broiling Red Sea sun. It was a measure of his brilliance that he succeeded despite the greatest adversity.

Ellsberg received the Legion of Merit for his heroic work, but the effort broke the health of the fifty-year-old officer. After additional demanding salvage work in North Africa and service in England prior to the invasion of Normandy, he returned to the United States and retired in early 1945. Rear Admiral Ellsberg passed away in 1983 after a vigorous retired life.

Alden is well-qualified to write about Ellsberg. An experienced submarine officer and author of authoritative works on U.S. submarines, he possesses a comprehensive understanding of Navy politics and policies during Ellsberg's era. Alden's well-written book makes excellent use of the Ellsberg family papers. His selection of photographs helps readers understand the difficulties and dangers of salvage. *Salvage Man* is a significant book that examines a man and a marine specialty now little known to casual readers or historians; it should help to restore the reputations of both.

WILLIAM GALVANI
Naval Undersea Museum
Keyport, Washington

THOMAS WILDENBERG, *Destined for Glory: Dive Bombing, Midway and the Evolution of Carrier Airpower*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. 280 pages, photographs, line drawings, appendices, bibliography, index. ISBN: 1-55750-947-6. \$34.95.

If a reader chooses this book because of its subtitle, he is apt to be disappointed. Dive bombing is just one aspect of this multifaceted work, and the Battle of Midway takes up just one chapter. If the reader looks beyond that subtitle, however, he will discover a very fine book that takes a look at the U.S. Navy's development of aerial tactics and equipment during the period from 1925 to 1942.

Although studies and histories of aviation activities in the United States during the interwar years are certainly not hard to find, many of these focus on civilian affairs or on the development of specific aircraft. Texts on the development of aviation doctrine and tactics in the U.S. Navy during the same period are a bit harder to come by. *Destined for Glory* provides a welcome addition to the historiography of the interwar years.

Thomas Wildenberg applied a generally chronological approach to his subject. The first chapter opens with the arrival of Captain Joseph Mason Reeves on board the Langley in October 1925. It was not long before the hard-driving Reeves had wiped away the somewhat complacent and leisurely attitude of both the carrier's crew and her aviators. Looking into the future, Reeves declared, "we must become a school before we can become an air force" (page 5). With this simple declaration, Reeves and his airmen undertook the initial steps in making the U.S. Navy's aviation component the formidable force it is today.

It was not easy. Aircraft and engines were fragile and often unreliable. Accidents, sometimes fatal, occurred with too much regularity, but serious progress in aircraft, engines, and tactics was made over the next few years. As Wildenberg describes in the next few chapters, perhaps the

most important development during this time was that of “dive bombing.” He notes that over the years this term has often been misinterpreted to mean an attack in a steep, perhaps 45°, glide. Actually, for the navy pilots dive bombing meant making dives of 70° or greater. Intense practice eventually enabled these fliers to make very accurate attacks, amusingly described in an incident involving Italian General Italo Balbo. However, the evolution of dive bombing in the navy is not the only thing Wildenberg describes in the book.

The appearance of the big carriers *Lexington* and *Saratoga* in the late twenties signaled an expansion of the navy’s air arm. New and better aircraft, more effective weapons, and improved engines were required. Briefly and succinctly, Wildenberg relates the navy’s quest for these items. Not only were dive bombers needed, but fighters, torpedo bombers, scouts, and light bombers. Not all of the aircraft procured were a success. The PT-1 float plane, for example, was so underpowered that it could not get off the water carrying a full fuel load, crew of two, and torpedo. Its maximum cruising speed was about 50 knots, barely enough to keep it in the air, much less make an attack on an enemy ship.

In addition to the operational maturation of the navy’s air arm, as evinced by the various Fleet Problems in which the carriers and their squadrons participated, Wildenberg also discusses the political arena in which the navy had to operate. Money was very tight in the interwar period and not every powerful political figure was friendly to the navy. Wildenberg ably depicts the political atmosphere of the time and the navy’s attempts (some successful, some not) to obtain funding.

Up to the final four chapters, *Destined for Glory* is an engrossing and enlightening book. The last chapters, however, are disappointing. Little more than potted histories of the early actions of World War II, they add nothing to the history of the war, nor do they really add much to describing the ultimate success of the U.S. Navy’s dive bombers. Although he does point out that the

years of training and the development of doctrine and tactics enabled the dive bombers to “win” the Battle of Midway, this line of thought could have been carried much farther. Nonetheless, this is still a very good book, particularly the pre-war chapters, and would make a fine addition to ones naval or aviation library.

WILLIAM T. Y'BLOOD
Air Force History Support Office
Bolling AFB, D.C.

ADOLPH W. NEWTON, *Better Than Good: A Black Sailor's War, 1943-1948*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1999. 189 pages, photographs. ISBN 1-55750-649-3.

Better Than Good graphically records how Adolph Newton survived discrimination as a black enlisted man in the U.S. Navy. The subtitle may be unintentionally ambiguous, for although Newton’s loyalty was never questioned, he also fought a private guerilla war against discriminatory attitudes and practices in the Navy. Based on his wartime journals and written in an unpolished style, the text has the ring of authenticity.

At the age of seventeen, Newton faked his parents’ signature and joined the Navy in Baltimore. From his first physical exam in 1943, on being asked to point out his knife cuts from fighting, to his separation from the Navy in 1948, he endured racial stereotyping. Recognizing what black sailors would have to do to succeed in a navy barely touched by President Roosevelt’s 1942 edict to open up engineering ratings to African-Americans, the commandant at Great Lakes Basic Training exhorted Newton’s all-black company to be “better than good,” a recurring theme throughout Newton’s checkered Navy career.

After motor machinist’s training at Hampton Institute, Virginia, Newton was sent to San Diego, where he was elated to receive orders attend to diesel training at a school in San Francisco run by International Harvester. Upon arrival, as he was

about to board a truck carrying recruits to the training school, he was told that it was company policy not to accept black trainees. "The truck pulled off. Tears ran down my cheek as I returned to my dorm" (page 39).

Sent back to San Diego, he soon discovered that southern California's supposed racial tolerance was actually "segregation wrapped in a Christmas box" (page 44). Nevertheless, when a woman he had been living with urged him to desert, he adamantly refused, for "he was born under this flag" (page 44) and would fight for it. Ordered to a repair base in New Guinea, he learned to cope with the heat and humidity and being "stuck out in the jungle" (page 54) in segregated housing, but scored a minor victory for desegregation when members of his unit split up at chow time, sat down at different mess tables, and forced white sailors to sit with them.

Newton vividly recounts his traumatic experience aboard a transport ship torpedoed and sunk off Samar by a Japanese kamikaze pilot. After the recovery of the pilot's body, white sailors mutilated it, reminding Newton "of the pictures I had seen of the lynching of the Negroes in the southern part of the U.S." (page 64).

Life became more bearable for Newton on being assigned responsibility with Wickline, a white sailor from West Virginia, in operating a landing craft. They soon developed an unspoken bond of comradeship: "we drank from the same canteen," but "never discussed race" (page 78). Overwhelmed by Wickline's accidental drowning death at the end of the war, Newton's first impulse was to deliver his friend's belongings in person to his family but sadly concluded because "I was a Negro and he was white, I was prohibited from doing anything for him" (page 90). This episode, simply and poignantly stated, is the dramatic high point of *Better than Good*.

The final chapters describe Newton's re-enlistment hitch (1946–1948) as the only black in the Engineering Division of the U.S.S. *Donner*. Still subjected to racial taunts, and determined not

to be bullied, he remembered what had been drummed into him at Hampton, namely, to be "better than good." Put to the test in successfully repairing a balky engine, he became accepted by his shipmates and was happy that they knew he did outstanding work.

Near the end of his re-enlistment, unable to endure any more racial slurs, he slapped a white girl who had called him a "nigger" in a bar at Charlotte Amelie, Virgin Islands. He was court-martialed. Fortunately for Newton, the court's decision was countermanded at Washington, probably because not one of the white sailors in the bar testified against him.

The last chapter, "Reflections," ends on an upbeat note. Newton took great pride in having to help to lay the foundation "for the accomplishments of today's African-American sailors" (page 182) and in the fact that one of his sons had become a lieutenant commander in the U.S. Navy.

Better than Good deserves a place on the same shelf with Alvin-Kernan's *Crossing the Line: A Bluejacket's World War II Odyssey* (1997). Both texts describe in detail what it was like to be an enlisted sailor in World War II, but in *Better Than Good* the ever present threat of discrimination casts a harsh light on Newton's experience.

CALVIN LANE
Mystic Seaport
Mystic, Connecticut

MICHAEL A. SIMPSON, ED., *The Cunningham Papers, Volume I: The Mediterranean Fleet 1939–1942*. Publications of the Navy Records Society, Vol 140. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing. 1999. xxviii + 634 pages, glossary, chronology, maps, bibliography, index, errata. ISBN 1-84014-662-2. \$113.95.

This selection of the private and public documents of Admiral of the Fleet Viscount (formerly Sir Andrew Browne) Cunningham of

Wyndhope (1883–1963) covers June 1939 to March 1942 when “ABC,” as his intimates knew him, commanded the Royal Navy’s forces in the Mediterranean. The projected second volume will concentrate on Cunningham’s subsequent assignments, mostly in higher staff and governmental positions until his retirement in 1946.

Following a general introduction, a helpful chronology, and a summary of Cunningham’s career up to 1939, Michael Simpson, Reader in History at the University of Wales, Swansea, divides the present volume into four sections: “The ‘Phoney War’ Period, June 1939 to June 1940” (42 pages); “The Anglo-Italian War, June to December 1940” (175 pages); “The Effects of German Intervention, January to May 1941” (218 pages); and “The Fight at Odds, June 1941 to March 1942” (152 pages). Simpson opens each segment with a concise, superbly researched essay summarizing the developments covered by the records and assessing the role Cunningham played in them.

The primary sources themselves appear in either complete or abridged form, depending on Simpson’s judgment of their historical weight and nature. They consist of letters, messages, orders, reports, memoranda, etc., either originating from Cunningham or received by him. Exchanges with Cunningham’s superior, Admiral of the Fleet Sir Dudley Pound, are especially numerous and poignant. Presented in chronological order, the documents give the reader the impression of a more or less cohesive narrative, an advantage so often missing in collections arranged topically rather than sequentially. Simpson’s method easily recaptures the experiences and thought processes that guided Cunningham in his actions and decisions.

Besides assembling a reasonably representative and invariably fascinating set of primary documents, Simpson also deserves praise for his footnotes and the index. The former are exemplary. Every individual or vessel mentioned in the text receives a brief identification or biography when

first introduced so that readers have no need to keep additional reference works handy in order to make sense of Cunningham’s papers. The footnotes also point out instances when statements contained in the records were found to be untrue or questionable upon subsequent assessment. Likewise useful are maps and charts detailing the theater of operations or major naval actions.

What kind of man was Cunningham? What sort of leadership did he provide in a vital theater of the war under extremely challenging conditions? His papers supply vivid testimony to his professional competence, strategic insights, careful decision-making, deep sense of responsibility, and, not least, his profound appreciation of the sacrifice that the ships, aircraft, and individuals under his command made so that the Allies could stay in the war and see it through to victory. Cunningham always seemed painfully aware of the meager resources with which he had to face numerically superior Italian and German forces.

Cunningham’s balanced temperament was ideally suited for a position that required a mix of qualities not often joined in profusion in a single human being. Aware of the need to oversee the day-to-day activities in a command covering a vast geographical expanse, he knew how to delegate much of this responsibility to trusted subordinates. Sensitive to diplomatic idiosyncrasies in the Mediterranean world, he handled the unpredictable and sometimes unreliable French with the same sensitivity with which he managed pesky inter-service tensions with the Army and the Royal Air Force. Conscious of the requirement to guard his limited resources against irresponsible risks, Cunningham nevertheless found the resolve to take decisive action when needed, such as at Taranto and Matapan. For instance, he signaled the Admiralty on 4 March 1941, “We are, I am convinced, pursuing the right policy and risk must be faced up to.”

In short, Cunningham’s greatness can be measured by many standards. Perhaps most impressive and moving is his concern for the lives

of his crews fighting and dying in the brave attempt to hold Greece and Crete in the spring of 1941 and during the fierce Axis drive into Egypt from Libya. Expressions like "conduct beyond praise," "admirable discipline and spirit," "gallant and enterprising performance," and "strain most nobly shouldered" (here taken from a report of 7 July 1941) are typical comments on his men by a superior officer who knew both their accomplishments and their sacrifice.

The Cunningham Papers are highly recommended for university libraries, military and naval experts, and just about any person or institution interested in enriching their primary source holding about World War II in the Mediterranean.

ERIC C. RUST
Baylor University
Waco, Texas

≈ SHORTER NOTICES ≈

EARL G. SHETTLEWORTH, JR. AND W. H. BUNTING, *An Eye For the Coast: The Maritime and Monhegan Island Photographs of Eric Hudson*. Gardiner, Maine: Tilbury House, 1998. ix + 213 pages, index. Paper. ISBN 0884481743. \$25.00.

Noted marine painter Eric Hudson (1862–1932) was a devotee of the people and vessels of Maine's Monhegan Island. He was also an extraordinary photographer, as this collection of black-and-white scenes, carefully reproduced from Hudson's original glass negatives of a century ago, conclusively demonstrates. Nearly seventy photos are of the island, its people, and its vessels; another fifty-plus feature various other locales, primarily Boston harbor. Each reproduction is supplied with a comprehensive description owing much to the expertise of editor Bunting. One could wish for some color reproductions of Hudson's paintings for comparison, but then it would be a much more costly book. As it is, anyone with an interest in the maritime world of New England—not just of Maine—will find this work not only to be a delight but also, as a result of the captions, an education.

JEREMY GREEN, MYRA STANBURY, FEMME GAASTRA, EDS., *The ANCODS Colloquium: Papers Presented at the Australia-Netherlands Colloquium on Maritime Archaeology and Maritime History*. Fremantle, Western Australia: Western Australian Maritime Museum and Australian National Centre of Excellence for Maritime Archaeology, 1998. xiii + 171 pages, illustrations, bibliography. Paper. ISBN 1-876465-00-x. No price indicated. Contact WAMM, Cliff Street, Fremantle, Western Australia 6160.

ANCODS stands for "Agreement between Australia and the Netherlands Concerning Old Dutch Shipwrecks." The twenty papers in this collection deal with seventeenth century VOC voyages, wreck sites (particularly on the Abrolhos Islands), and the care, display, and future of innumerable objects which have been uncovered, with some asides on the tricentenary of Willem de Vlamingh's voyage of discovery. Although fairly specialized, these papers, all presented at a WAMM-sponsored conference in early 1997, offer an interesting cross-section of the problems and successes—real and potential—of international and intercontinental cooperation in the field of maritime archaeology.

LUCY KENDALL HERRICK, *Voyage to California Written at Sea, 1852*. Edited by Amy Requa Russell, Marcia Russell Good, and Mary Good Lindgren. San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1988. 135 pages, index, illustrations. ISBN 0873281659. \$24.95.

Lucy Kendall, aged twenty-four, her mother, sister, and a family friend sailed aboard the 947-ton ship *Josephine* in 1852 bound for California to join her father, there since 1849. Lucy kept a journal, as did so many others in the idle hours of a long voyage (Lucy's took 137 days). It is not a long document (even with large print and wide margins, only some fifty pages of this book), but it is lively, with predictable remarks on crew and fellow passengers, moments of beauty, harshness (including a grim master prone to anger), real fear, and sorrow (a favorite crewman was lost at sea). Lovingly prepared by Lucy's granddaughter, great-and great-great-granddaughters and supplied with a useful introduction by Andrew Rolle to set time and place, the volume, though hardly profound, is a nice addition to the genre.

JOHN F. LEAVITT, *The Charles W. Morgan*. Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport Museum, second edition, 1998. xi + 123 pages, illustrations, crew lists, fold-out scale drawings, index. Paper. ISBN 0-913372-102. \$9.95.

The first edition of John Leavitt's short but authoritative study of America's only surviving whaleship was published in 1973. In the subsequent century, not only have new sources emerged, but the *Morgan* is that many years older. In this second version, the text has been revised extensively by Andrew German of the Seaport Museum staff, and an afterword (pages 95-102) provided by shipwright Roger Hambidge on the

problems and solutions of this proud vessel's preservation since the 1970s. John Leavitt (1905-1974) came to Mystic Seaport as in 1960; he surely would be pleased at this update of his essential guide to a unique American monument.

JACK SWEETMAN, ED., *Great American Naval Battles*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. xxxviii + 416 pages, illustrations, maps, notes on contributors, index. ISBN 1557507945. \$39.95.

Jack Sweetman has put together an interesting collection of nineteen conflicts, each presented by an expert. Two are Revolutionary War Era: Valcour Island (J. K. Martin) and Flamborough Head (J. C. Bradford); three are from 1812—the *Constitution's* battles (L. M. Maloney), Lake Erie (D. C. Skaggs), and Lake Champlain (W. M. P. Dunne). The Civil War warrants three: Hampton Roads (W. N. Still, Jr.) New Orleans (M. L. Hayes), and Mobile Bay (J. H. Friend). Manila Bay (J. B. Hattendorf) and Santiago (D. F. Trask) date from the Spanish-American War. The rest, with one exception, are drawn from World War II: Pearl Harbor (E. L. Beach), Coral Sea (E. B. Potter), Midway (B. Tillman), Guadalcanal (P. Stillwell), "Battle of the Atlantic" (W. T. Y'Blood), Philippine Sea (H. P. Willmott), Leyte Gulf (T. J. Cutler), and Okinawa (J. G. Barlow). The last selection (Michael Palmer) may be the only one readers will have difficulty identifying: "Operation Praying Mantis" (for those who have forgotten, this was the Navy's confrontation with Iranian ships and oil platforms in 1988, not likely to go down in history as a great battle, but included to give some idea of the changing nature of naval combat).

BRITON BUSCH
Colgate University
Hamilton, New York



INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL *of* MARITIME HISTORY

The **IJMH** is a fully-refereed journal for researchers interested in the economic and social history of the merchant marine, shipbuilding, fishing, ports, trade and maritime societies. The **IJMH** is published semi-annually, in June and December.

Each issue contains feature articles, research notes, historiographical essays, and articles on sources useful to international scholars. As well, we run a series of forums on important issues in maritime history; along with "roundtables" which feature a number of reviews of an important new book with a response from the author. Our book reviews are truly international in scope.

Included as part of your subscription to the **IJMH** you will receive **Research in Maritime History**. This series contains original monographs, reprints, translations, bibliographies, research guides, and collections of essays reflecting the diversity of maritime history.

This exceptional value is available for only US\$45 per year, including surface postage (air mail is available at US\$15 per year in North America, Europe and the Middle East; US\$20 elsewhere). All subscriptions are filled by the calendar year only. Back issues for both publications are available at a cost of US\$15 per edition.

For further information, please call (709) 737-2602, fax (709) 737-8427, E-Mail: Gulliver@morgan.ucs.mun.ca or simply write to **International Journal of Maritime History**, Maritime Studies Research Unit, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, NF A1C 5S7, CANADA. If you wish to subscribe, enclose a cheque, banker's draft or international money order in **US dollars** made payable to the **International Journal of Maritime History**. We also invite you to visit our web site - <http://www.mun.ca/mhp>.

Attention: Authors and Commentators

The American Neptune actively seeks significant original articles on ships, mariners, and the sea. Contributors do not need to be professional historians or academics. We are looking for thoughtful, insightful, interesting writing on maritime history and art, ship modeling, watercraft, movers and shakers in the marine world, etc. Articles submitted, including symposia contributions, are subjected to review prior to acceptance, and editorial reading and changes upon acceptance, if necessary.

The *Neptune* also publishes book reviews, brief notes and comments, and other matters of general interest. If you would like to be considered as a possible book reviewer, please contact Geraldine Ayers, *Neptune* Managing Editor, Peabody Essex Museum, East India Square, Salem, MA 01970. No geographical restrictions are placed on contents or contributors, but all articles will appear in English. Any other language should be kept to a minimum except where it cannot be avoided, such as in direct quotes. Any passage in a foreign language must be accompanied by an accurate translation. Articles that have already appeared or will appear simultaneously will not be accepted.

Materials submitted for publication are to be prepared in accordance with the Guidelines for Contributors. A copy will be sent upon request by the publisher or managing editor. For an e-mail copy of the Guidelines, send your request to dori_phillips@pem.org.



Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation

(Required by 39 USC 3685)

The American Neptune	2. Publication Number 0 0 0 3 - 0 1 5 5	3. Filing Date
4. Issue Frequency Quarterly	5. Number of Issues Published Annually 4	6. Annual Subscription Price \$39.00
7. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication (Not printer) (Street, city, county, state, and Zip+4) Peabody Essex Museum, East India Square, Salem, MA 01970-3783		Contact Person William T. La Moy Telephone 978-745-9500 ext. 3042
8. Complete Mailing Address of Headquarters or General Business Office of Publisher (Not printer) Peabody Essex Museum, East India Square, Salem, MA 01970-3783		

9. Full names and Complete Mailing Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor (Do not leave blank)

Publisher (Name and complete mailing address)

William T. La Moy, Peabody Essex Museum, East India Square, Salem, MA 01970-3783

Editor (Name and complete mailing address)

Barry Gough, Dept. of History, Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, ON N2L 3C5, Canada

Managing Editor (Name and complete mailing address)

Geraldine Ayers, Peabody Essex Museum, East India Square, Salem, MA 01970-3783

10. Owner (Do not leave blank. If the publication is owned by a corporation, give the name and address of the corporation immediately followed by the names and addresses of all stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of the total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, give the names and addresses of the individual owners. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, give its name and address as well as those of each individual owner. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, give its name and address.)

Full Name	Complete Mailing Address
Peabody Essex Museum	East India Square
	Salem, MA 01970-3783

11. Known Bondholders, Mortgages, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages, or Other Securities. If none, check box

☒ None

Full Name	Complete Mailing Address

12. Tax Status (For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates) (Check one)

The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for federal income tax purposes:

☒ Has Not Changed During Preceding 12 Months

☐ Has Changed During Preceding 12 Months (Publisher must submit explanation of change with this statement)

13. Publication Title The American Neptune		14. Issue Date for Circulation Data Below Winter 1999	
15. Extent and Nature of Circulation		Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Actual No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
a. Total Number of Copies (Net press run)		1438	1500
b. Paid and/or Requested Circulation	(1) Paid/Requested Outside-County Mail Subscriptions stated on Form 3541. (Include advertiser's proof and exchange copies)	1170	1297
	(2) Paid In-County Subscriptions (Include advertiser's proof and exchange copies)	0	0
	(3) Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors, Counter Sales, and Other Non-USPS Paid Distribution	29	43
	(4) Other Classes Mailed Through the USPS	0	0
c. Total Paid and/or Requested Circulation (Sum of 15b(1), (2), (3), and (4)) ▶		1199	1340
d. Free Distribution by Mail (Samples, complimentary, and other free)	(1) Outside-County as Stated on Form 3541	5	1
	(2) In-County as Stated on Form 3541	0	0
	(3) Other Classes Mailed Through the USPS	0	0
e. Free Distribution Outside the Mail (Carriers or other means)		51	51
f. Total Free Distribution (Sum of 15d and 15e) ▶		56	52
g. Total Distribution (Sum of 15c and 15f) ▶		1255	1392
h. Copies not Distributed		183	108
i. Total (Sum of 15g. and h.) ▶		1438	1500
Percent Paid and/or Requested Circulation (15c divided by 15g times 100)		95.6	96.3
16. Publication of Statement of Ownership <u>Volume 60, Number 1</u> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Publication required. Will be printed in the _____ issue of this publication. <input type="checkbox"/> Publication not required.			

17. Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner
William T. La May, Publisher

Date
14 Sept. 2000

I certify that all information furnished on this form is true and complete. I understand that anyone who furnishes false or misleading information on this form or who omits material or information requested on the form may be subject to criminal sanctions (including fines and imprisonment) and/or civil sanctions (including civil penalties).

Instructions to Publishers

- Complete and file one copy of this form with your postmaster annually on or before October 1. Keep a copy of the completed form for your records.
- In Cases where the stockholder or security holder is a trustee, include in items 10 and 11 the name of the person or corporation for whom the trustee is acting. Also include the names and addresses of individuals who are stockholders who own or hold 1 percent or more of the total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities of the publishing corporation. In item 11, if none, check the box. Use blank sheets if more space is required.
- Be sure to furnish all circulation information called for in item 15. Free circulation must be shown in items 15d, e, and f.
- Item 15h., Copies not Distributed, must include (1) newsstand copies originally stated on Form 3541, and returned to the publisher, (2) estimated returns from news agents, and (3), copies for office use, leftovers, spoiled, and all other copies not distributed.
- If the publication had Periodicals authorization as a general or requester publication, this Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation must be published; it must be printed in any issue in October or, if the publication is not published during October, the first issue printed after October.
- In item 16, indicate the date of the issue in which this Statement of Ownership will be published.
- Item 17 must be signed.

Failure to file or publish a statement of ownership may lead to suspension of second-class authorization.



The OLD PRINT SHOP^{INC.}

FINE PRINTS *and* ART BOOKS

e s t a b l i s h e d 1898

Over 102 Years of Experience Buying, Selling and Building American Print Collections



"A MIDNIGHT RACE ON THE MISSISSIPPI"

LARGE FOLIO, HAND COLORED LITHOGRAPH

BY CURRIER & IVES, 1860

*We have an Extensive Collection of American Marine Prints
and Views of American Port Cities*

KENNETH M. NEWMAN HARRY S. NEWMAN ROBERT K. NEWMAN

150 LEXINGTON AVENUE AT 30TH STREET

NEW YORK, NY 10016-8108

TEL 212.683.3950 FAX 212.779.8040

info@oldprintshop.com www.oldprintshop.com

CENTURIES UNDER SAIL



Bernard Finnegan Gribble
(British, 1873-1962)
"On The Road To Trafalgar"
Signed, LL
Oil on canvas, 60 x 84"

WE ARE ALWAYS INTERESTED IN PURCHASING FINE MARINE ART,
MODELS & CAMPAIGN FURNITURE. *Single items, collections or estates.*
Artists include: Bard, Beal, Bricher, Buttersworth, China Trade, Dawson, Fischer,
Gray, Hoyne, Jacobsen, Salmon, Tyler, Walters, Waugh, Yorke & others.
HIGHEST PRICES PAID FOR FINE EXAMPLES.

QUESTER GALLERY

The Gallery of Exceptional Marine Art & Antiques

*New Color Catalog \$15.00
"Centuries Under Sail" - Fall 2000*

We are Interested in Purchasing Fine Marine Art

Gallery Hours: Mon.-Sat. 10-5 & By Appt.

On The Green / P.O. Box 32N Stonington, CT 06378

questergal@snet.net

Tel: (860) 535-3860